

THE WORKS  
OF  
SHAKESPEARE

THE THIRD PART OF  
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

EDITED BY  
H. C. HART



METHUEN & Co., LTD.  
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.  
LONDON

*First Published in 1910*

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
THE THIRD PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH . . . . .	i





## INTRODUCTION

[It is greatly to be regretted that owing to the lamented death of the Editor, the three Parts of *Henry VI* had not the advantage of being printed under his own supervision. But his work has been preserved with all the fidelity permitted by its comparatively rough though otherwise complete condition. In preparing the plays for the press, I have confined my corrections to matters of fact, and where I differed from the Editor in matters of opinion, I did not feel justified in altering his words. While I have emended or ascertained the accuracy of nearly every quotation and reference, a very few remain which must be taken on his authority. In the third part I have had the great advantage of advice and help from the General Editor, Professor R. H. Case.

C. K. POOLER]

The text of 3 *Henry VI* is from the Folio 1623. As was the case with Part II, it receives a few slight emendations from the Quarto (Q 1, of which it is an expanded form) known as *The True Tragedy* (and forming the second part of *The Whole Contention*) which was first printed in 1595 with this title: The true tragedie of Richard | Duke of Yorke, and the death of | good King Henrie the Sixt, | with the whole contention betweene | the two Houses Lancaster | and Yorke, as it was sundrie times | acted by the Right Honourable | the Earle of Pem- | brooke his seruants | (T M's Device)—Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, | ton, and are to be sold at his shoppe under | Saint Peters Church in | Cornwall 1595 | This "Quarto" is in fact a small octavo.

The second edition (Q 2) was printed with the same title in 1600 with the alteration "Printed at London by W. W. for Thomas . 1600"

The third edition (Q 3) is the second part of *The Whole Contention*, without separate title-page. It has a head-page title The Second Part | Containing the Tragedie of | Richard Duke of Yorke, and the | good King Henrie the | Sixt | The date of this edition is not in the original, but was proved by Capell (see Preface, Cambridge Shakespeare, vol. v pp ix.-x.) to be 1619. The variations in this edition from Q 1 are few and unimportant. They relate almost entirely to spelling, or to single words, and are carefully and beautifully listed in Mr Furnival's preface, together with the correspondent terms in the first Folio.<sup>1</sup>

As to the date of this play, it is opportune to quote here from Miss Lee, "On the order of Shakespeare's historical plays," in a postscript to her main paper (*New Shaks. Soc Trans* 1875-1876, pp. 310, 311). She finds that "*Henry VI.* Parts II and III and *Richard III* form a distinct and separate group." She finds in all of them a singular resemblance to the writings of Marlowe, in their inhumanity and blood-thirstiness as much as in their versification and style—not necessarily his actual writing, but (in *Richard III* especially) echoes of his voice. And she believed that Parts II and III were written as early as 1590-1591, and *Richard III* not later than 1592-1593. She gives, I think, no decision as to date of *1 Henry VI*. I find the echoes of Marlowe in *Richard III* far away and dim, "like a cannon in a vault." With reference to the comparative merits of the two old plays, Grant White says: "In construction, in characterisation, in rhythm, in poetic imagery and dramatic diction, *The True Tragedy* is very much superior to *The Contention*. . . It contains much less rubbish and many more jewels. So, as we have seen, when Shakespeare came to write Parts II. and III, he adopted or altered for the former 1,479 of its 3,057 lines (less than one-half) from *The Contention*, while for the latter he adopted or altered 1,931 of its 2,877 lines (more than two-thirds) from *The True Tragedy*." Malone put these figures in another form. "The total number of lines in Parts II and III. is 6,043. of these, as I conceive,

<sup>1</sup>[On the connection of this undated quarto with other quartos (of plays by or attributed to Shakespeare) of various dates (1600, 1608, 1619), and the suspicion that all were really printed in 1619, see A. W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Quartos and Quartos, etc.* Methuen, 1909. R. H. C.]

1,771 lines were written by some author who preceded Shakespeare, 2,373 were formed by him on the foundation laid by his predecessors, and 1,899 lines were entirely his own composition" (p 430, *op. cit*) I leave these for the present with the remark that as to how many were entirely his own composition "no man can lay down the law" But we ought to be secure over our totals for any given edition. How much constitutes a new line is also a matter of opinion. For example, in the present play, there is a Quarto line (at III. ii 84) "Her looks are all repleat with maiestie"; at IV vi 71 there is another line "Thy lookes are all repleat with maiestie" In the first case the line is rewritten "Her looks do argue her replete with modesty"; in the second it appears as "His looks are full of peaceful majesty" One has to ponder a while when making totals. There are many such cases.

I shall now leave the opinions of others and summarise my examination of the text, or texts, before us, and proceed at once to look for evidence of those other coadjutors, Peele, Marlowe and Greene, merely premising that there is much less of any writer (other than Shakespeare) in Part III., as well as in its foundation play, than was the case in Part II and its early form. In *The True Tragedy* I see a little of Marlowe, less of Greene, more of Peele and much more of Shakespeare. And in the final play there is yet more of Shakespeare and yet less of the others. Whatever may have been the original plan, the committee seems to have dissolved and left him in possession, with Peele to advise.

#### A RUNNING COMMENTARY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO PLAYS

Act I. Scene i. Recalls Peele in several places, but is wholly by Shakespeare. Forty lines are added to Q, the most important additions being to the Queen's part. There are continuous slight and unimportant alterations. The Peele resemblances at "main battle" (I i. 8), at "unpeople this my realm" (I i. 126), and at "ground gape, and swallow" (I i. 161) are common to both plays. The changes are mostly in order to obtain metrical verse. Note "get thee gone" (258), said to King Henry, which is placed for "therefore be still"

## THE THIRD PART OF

(Q). The latter occurs, to King Henry, at II. ii. 122 (in both), hence the alteration, due to careful work.

Act I. Scene ii. About fifteen lines are added to Q. Richard's character begins to develop in the most important addition (I ii 26-34). Two lines in this speech are captured from Q below (at II. i. 81), lines which have already done duty in *2 Henry VI.* II. ii. 64-66. The next noteworthy addition, about Kentishmen (I. ii. 42-43), is also traceable to *2 Henry VI.* IV. vii 60-61. In both those passages the germ is in *First Contention* at the place. There is no suggestion of another hand. The little hall-mark of antiquity, "come let's go," I. ii 54 Q, occurs again at V iii 19 Q. It suggests Marlowe perhaps.

Act I Scene iii. Practically identical in the two copies. The last line in Q corrects the last in Folio.

Act I Scene iv. About fifteen lines are added to Q, mainly in York's first speech, where the Spenserian "thrice-happy" (Peele's) is omitted from the final play. The two great speeches of Margaret and York are very slightly altered, both undoubtedly Shakespeare's. Margaret recalls again *The First Contention* (III 1. 116-118) in the passage about "shook hands with death" in I. iv. 101-102. York's reply to Margaret is a portion of Margaret's character, Shakespeare's especial work. It contains the thrice-famous line, "Oh tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" (I. iv 137). A Kyd word ("captive") occurs in both texts (115), and a Marlowe word ("obdurate") also appears (142) (as it did before in *2 Henry VI.*) but not in old texts. There is an interesting connection between *Richard III* I. ii 155-165 and this scene (157-162) coupled with Rutland's death in the last scene. The passage in *Richard III.* is not in the Quartos of that play. Note in this scene Margaret's blood-thirstiness to poor York. It recalls the fact that Margaret was the first to demand Gloucester's murder in *2 Henry VI.* III i.

Act I is all Shakespeare's in both plays. See notes for continuous parallels from his undoubted work.

Act II Scene i. Note the opening line, almost identical with that of Act I, an oversight when the first speech was rewritten and expanded from two lines to seven. This scene is lengthened by some thirty lines from the early form. A line,

"Hercules must yield to odds" (53), has been transferred to the Messenger's speech from Warwick's own words at his death (v. ii. 33), in Q. And the "mole-hill" line in the same speech (Q, II. i. 33) may be regarded as transplanted to II. v. 14 in the final play. For "Piteous spectacle," a phrase of Spenser's, which occurs in the Messenger's speech (Q, II. i. 43), "saddest spectacle" appears in the final play (II. v. 73). Line 71 ("The flower of Europe") is found in *The First Contention* but was omitted in *Henry VI*. There are echoes of Marlowe ("racking clouds," 27), and of Peele ("latest gasp," 108, "soul's prison," 74). All in both texts Richard's character shows further development in both plays (79-88). Warwick, always all Shakespeare's, is scarcely altered. Versification and harmony are conscientiously looked after. In the matter of numbering the troops before Towton (177-181), Q is nearer the truth. At 128-132 the passage of the "lazy thresher" and the "night owl's flight," is worthy of Shakespeare at any time.

Several times what Peele uses he really takes from Marlowe, as his "soul's prison" above.

Act II. Scene ii. Practically identical in the two plays, but numerous verbal changes of the slightest nature give polish. Note alterations to relieve an over-used word, as "lord" to "liege" (9, 33). One of many so-called proofs of Greene's work is explained away (47, 48, note), like the "well I wot" at line 134. Another very stale word, "princely" (58), is expelled. Grammar is often corrected (170) but by no means always. Several "continuity passages" occur in this scene. And constant evidence is given in the notes of Shakespeare's hand. Line 97 is found in Greene's *Alphonsus*. It is not in Q. The transition verb "refrain" (110) recalls Peele. For the unmetrical confusion of Q, see an instance at 109-112. A word of Peele's, also from Marlowe, is "base-born" (143) in an altered line. It is also in Part II. (I. iii. 82) but in neither case in the Quartos. "Stigmatic" (136) also reappears from Part II, where it is found in the old plays each time and seems to be Shakespeare's own. One change, "encompass'd" (3) from "impaled," shows the careful handling. It occurs later in both plays at III. iii. 189, and in this play at III. ii. 171. That is to say twice apiece, not too often. Scansion is set

right by inserting a few words, "Ah, what a shame were this" (39), which would appear to have fallen out of Q.

Act II Scene iii. A short scene not much lengthened, but considerable transposition and alteration occurs. "Malignant star" is omitted; it has been used in 1 *Henry VI*. "Fainting troops" (Marlowe) is omitted, and is paralleled by the omission of "fainting looks" (or rather conversion) in last scene (138). "Thickest throngs" (Marlowe and Kyd's *Cornelia*) is omitted, and each expression has carried away a line with it. At the beginning "spite of spite" replaces Shakespeare's older "force perforce" (or Kyd's). But these three lines (4, 5, 6) are repeated in Q (at v. ii 24-27) where "spite of spites" is found. Note the parallel "clamor" (v. ii 44) to "clangor" here (18). An interesting omission is "to remunerate," which becomes "rewards" (52). It is often used by Peele, but never by Shakespeare in a sure place. And he seems to have disliked it, judging from *Love's Labour's Lost*, although it was the Chronicle word (Hall) on this occasion. There are one or two very poor lines not found in Q, as that which replaces 47, but "dire mishaps" is in *Comedy of Errors*; and "highly promise to remunerate" (52) is paralleled by "highly hold in hate" in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Evidence of Shakespeare runs throughout. Nevertheless Peele had a hand here in the early play I believe. See Peele parallels (at 23, 47, 55, 191).

Act II Scene iv. In Q this bloody little scene has a few Marlowesque lines, which were deservedly expelled. They might have been anyone's, but they are a bad imitation of Marlowe (see notes). We have had many Golding parallels. Marlowe's "slicing sword" is from Golding. It is very interesting to meet here two lines (12-13) from 2 *Henry VI* v. ii 13. They are in *First Contention*, but not in present Q. The "thirsty sword" here (Q) is in Peele's *Edward I*.

Act II Scene v. This scene is doubled in length. There is little omission of what Q contains, but several trivial lines are altered out of shape. Henry's great soliloquy of fifty-four lines is merely opened in Q's twelve lines. It is a device to give the feeling of time elapsing while the battle rages, which the soldier (father and son) episodes serve to make more real. It is also a foil speech of Henry against Richard's soliloquy later on (III. ii.) Needless to say it is entirely by Shakespeare.

It is noticeable that the "mastless ship" line (omitted by Shakespeare) is borrowed into Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, several lines of which echo this play. We have Spenser's "piteous spectacle" here (73) altered to "saddest spectacle" before (II i 67). Some of the changes are very quaint, as "son so rude," to "son so rued" (109). Several lines of Q are shifted about confusingly in the final play, like "lions and poor lambs" (74-75). See also the transposition of "too soon, too late" (92, 93), recalling a note from *Lucrece* which happens very often in *Henry VI*. The father's speech is entirely new (excepting last line 122) and contains a thought from Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*. But I see nothing of the "base-minded three" in either version here.

Act II Scene vi Very lightly altered and hardly extended. Some of Peele's expressions appear, as "effuse of blood" (28), "unstanched thirst" (83), and the "people swarm" (at 8), occurring also below IV. ii 2 (see note at 8). And see at "buzz" (95). A group of adjectives ending in -less appears (23-25). Repetitions are effaced, as at "I know hee's dead" (79). Another quaint misprint (?) occurs in Q, "busie to offend" (95). "Lopped" is used in its proper connection (47), not as at II iv. 5 in Q. Golding's Ovid is several times recalled. The constant identity of Warwick's speeches in the two texts is very noticeable, even to such poetic expressions as at 62, a line readapted for *Richard III*, as frequently happens. The closing word "possession" is similarly pronounced in *King John*. At II. vi. 33 the words in Q, "That now towards *Barwicke* doth poste amaine," are omitted, they have been used in scene v. 128 in the final play.

Act III. Scene i. Some natural touches are happily added to the deer-stalking scene. The alteration of "bow and arrow" to "cross-bow" is instructive. The introduction of Shakespeare's favourite words of "balm" and "anointed king" (17) is also characteristic. Line 21 is changed for the worse. This is a poor scene in Q, relieved only by the deer shooting, and the faint attempt to arouse sympathy for Henry. The additional matter (70-96) with the "anointed king" again (76) is on the same mediocre level. That addition, with the developed shooting business, doubled the length. Again *Lucrece* is recalled more than once. The deer shooting is illustrated by

*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i. and IV. ii Margaret's troubles are rehearsed in a pathetic way by her wronged and wretched husband Shakespeare is thinking of her in *Richard III.* in a passive manner. Henry's simile of the feather (85) is additional, and a redeeming passage. History knows no such Margaret of Anjou as Shakespeare draws, but he took his hint from the Chroniclers and formed her on the "models of antique tragedy"

Act III Scene ii. An important scene, containing the well-sustained dialogue between Edward and Lady Grey, and also Gloucester's great soliloquy. We have had an example of dialogue in alternate lines already in 1 *Henry VI.* (IV v. 35-42) The scene is lengthened by about sixty lines in the re-writing, mainly in Gloucester's speech, to which forty lines are additional. The alteration of Catiline to Machiavel, at its close, is noticeable, and used by the advocates of Marlowe's authorship There is not a line of the least consequence in *True Tragedy* (Q) that is omitted in 3 *Henry VI.* in this scene Some interesting points occur the old "godsforsbot" (25) is deleted Note *The Spanish Tragedy* passage at 33-35, and the standard phrase of "in Christendom" (83). Also the manipulation of the following line (84), which is repeated later on (IV. vi. 71) and caused a little trouble. "Ghostly fatier" (107) recalls Peele So does "lade" (139). Several of the old expressions, "basilisk" (187), "play the orator" (188), "impaled with crown" (171), do duty again. Gloucester's proverb lore begins to display itself (50)

Act III. Scene iii This interesting scene is an adroit amalgamation of two totally distinct events See note at 234-242. Two different "assemblies" before the French king, in both of which Margaret was chiefly concerned, are welded into one. See notes at line 1 and at line 234 The structure is the same in both plays. The development and improvement are continuous on the old lines. The scene is lengthened by a full hundred lines, chiefly to Margaret's credit. She has sixteen in Q, seventy-two in the final play—from a nonentity she has become a striking central figure Warwick is almost unaltered. He gets about five lines added to his seventy-five (192-194, 208-210), and two or three slightly rewritten. The word "thrust" (190) is expelled (see note), from a harsh usage.



At the beginning those very poor lines are dropped, containing a premature promise of the French king's, and containing also "repossess," so frequently used in this play but not elsewhere. The addition to Warwick's speech (209) is also important to the future history, foretelling Clarence's falseness. A suggestion in defence of the untrue statement (81-82) of John of Gaunt's having "subdued the greater part of Spain" is made. There is nothing in this scene suggestive of any other hand. Shakespeare came to it with improved experience, correcting the faults, amending corrupted verse, and above all designedly devoting attention to Margaret. Although the scene has a narrative interest and considerable dramatic life, there is little to be said of its poetic composition. Lewis's remarks at the end as well as at the beginning, are furbished up a bit. But it is all very unworthy of Shakespeare, more so than any previous scene.

Act IV. Scene i. A needful but very dull scene, with faulty recapitulations from the last. Edward's unlucky marriage and Clarence's fickleness grow prominent. The lines are sensibly rewritten and fulfil their purpose, devoid of mannerism, harshness, or any particular weakness. In the Quarto the rhythm is destroyed by simple carelessness of printing sometimes (36-38), or by actual misprinting of words perhaps (20-23), or by such corruption in the text (at 146) that the lines are omitted as hopeless. Another omitted phrase, "stragling troopes" (131), recalls Greene, but it was quasi-technical of soldier adventurers as in *Richard III.* v. iii. 327. At 73 Gloucester's personal characteristic is noted on Edward's queen is accorded more respect and attention here than in Q.

Act IV. Scene ii. This short scene closes with Warwick's speech to enable the Watchmen's scene (iii) to be interjected, which has no place in Q. In order to close scene ii Warwick's speech is added to and rounded off with the classical illustrations, not in Q, but quite in keeping according to the vogue. The Watchmen's scene has a special interest (see below). Note "The common people swarm" (2), as above (II. vi. 8). The addition made to Warwick's speech may be due to Peele. Sometimes Holinshed's example might have suggested the classical interpolations.

Act IV. Scene iii. The Watchmen episode, suggested per-

haps by *The Spanish Tragedy* (III. iii. 16-45) adds twenty-two lines, and a neat bit of stage work. Warwick's speech is resumed at "This is his tent" (25), where the insertion was made, and he is allotted a few more lines, but his former ones remain unchanged. This scene shows Edward Clarence's disloyalty, and he notes upon it (41) as important. It is slurred over in Q. A speech of Clarence's in Q is wholly omitted, containing an intended dispatch to France, which is in accordance with a passage in III. iii. 235-236 (not in Q) and see IV. vi. 60, 61. For connection of *Spanish Tragedy* with *Henry VI*, see introduction to Part II. Peele may have suggested this insertion.

Act IV. Scene iv. This scene follows the Huntsman's, with Edward's escape (scene v here) in Q, and is doubled in length. It is very thin stuff indeed in Q, but the dialogue is on the same lines, and the development by Shakespeare is closely on its foundation. There are several well-marked Shakespearianisms in the result. The original might be Peele's, but it is featureless.

Act IV. Scene v. Precedes the last in Q. They are almost identical, but Gloucester's speech is rewritten. The last two lines, implying that the Bishop is present, are additional. Shakespeare has here again (in both versions) displayed much adroitness in weaving Edward's two flights into one effective whole. See note at line 71, and at IV. vi. 78-79.

Act IV. Scene vi. Follows scene vii. in Q, where it is allowed only twenty-two lines. In Q it opens with "Thus from," and the preceding short scene there (our vii.) opens "Thus far from," favourite starting words with Greene and Marlowe, but found also in *Richard III* and in this play (V. iii. 1). Peele's favourite "princely" (also Marlowe's) is twice deleted, as is also "replete with" (2, 71, 72). The prophecy about Henry of Richmond is hardly changed, and Henry's piety is seriously enforced in Q in a manner of which Greene was incapable. No sign of Marlowe appears. A slighter earlier sketch by Shakespeare is what it points to. Henry's request for his wife and child, and the news of Edward's escape and flight (to Warwick) are additional, as is all the poetry contained. The developed scene is entirely Shakespeare's. Peele might have sketched the first state, which is little more than an

## KING HENRY THE SIXTH xvii

argument. Note lines 78-79, "Edward is escaped . . . And fled . . . to Burgundy," welding into one his two flights.

Act IV. Scene vii. Precedes vi. in Q. Edward's speeches are all increased, extending the scene by nearly thirty lines. No new matter occurs, so that the old scene is an epitome of the new. It contains a favourite expression of Shakespeare's, "But soft!" (at 10). Another proverb for Richard (Gloucester) is carried through (25-26) "Stand upon terms" and "stand upon points" are both in Q, the last only is preserved. Both are used by Greene, but are not peculiar to him, and little in it can be his. The stereotyped expressions, "well I wot" (82), "salve for any sore" (88), are additional to Q, and both old and frequent. The "follow me"-ended line (39) appears again, see IV. i 123. Shakespeare's "good old man" (31) is not in Q. Gloucester is given an additional proverbial touch (11-12). The "good old man" recalls Sidney's King Basilius in *Arcadia*.

Act IV. Scene viii. Follows vi. in Q. With the reappearance of Warwick and King Henry some touches of poetry also appear in the finished play. This scene of sixty-four lines represents twenty-eight in Q, which is all a speech of Warwick's, saving ten lines. Warwick's speech practically remains untouched, but a pretty couplet (20, 21) is added to him. King Henry does all the additional work. He is allotted twenty-two lines but has no voice in the correspondent position in Q. "Hector . . . Troy's true hope" (25) appears for the second time in this play. Only once in Q "Dian" for Diana (21) is often later in Shakespeare. It is in Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1509. Henry's speeches are thoroughly characteristic. The term "shame-faced" (modest) applied to him (52) is from Grafton (or Hall). The proverb "make hay while the sun shines" (60-61) appears here in transmogrified form, and is transposed from Q at the end of v. iii.

The writing in this Act in Q is at a very low level of dulness. But it is coherent narrative, it follows the chronicles in its modified scheme fairly well, the lines are usually evenly turned, and there is no offensive bombast or iteration. Characterisation is hardly attempted.

Act v. Scene i. Follows Q very closely. Most of the striking expressions are common to both, and it is evident

Shakespeare had a free hand at the first scene of the Act. The additional forty lines, or thereabout, are chiefly Edward's and Clarence's, in his defiant announcement of oath-breaking. One interesting line (at 80), "Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too?" omitted here, is impanelled into *Julius Cæsar*, III i 77. Gloucester is allowed an extra speech or two, including proverbs (49). A curious misprint, "spotful" (98), occurs in Q, amongst others. But the printing of the play has improved. "Atlas" (36), applied to Edward, is not again in Shakespeare. Peele used it similarly. But there is no trace of Peele or anyone except Shakespeare in this scene in either play. There are parallels from *Lucrece* as usual: "weakling" (37), "runate" (83), and a few echoes of Golding's Ovid. The most interesting thing about this scene is its return to the Quarto—because the latter was more carefully done here.

Act v Scene ii. The death of Warwick. Edward is again brought into prominence to open the scene. He does not appear in Q. Warwick's speech is lengthened by a few lines on his eyes, but suggested by Henry the Fifth's eyes in *Henry VI* (I i 12-14), from Spenser's old dragon. The tag at the end in the style of Seneca is transposed from lower down (at 45), in Q. The "bug that feared us all" (2) is also Spenserian and not in Q. The fine metaphor of the cedar and the eagle is paralleled in Marlowe's latest play, *Edward II*. Warwick's second speech stood in need of change, since four lines have all been used already elsewhere. See II. i 53 (not duplicated in Q), and II. iii 3-5 (duplicated in Q). I read "cannon in a vault" (44) as this text is that of the Folio, moreover, I like it better than "clamor," probably suggested by "clangor" (II. iii 17-18). This finely wrought living scene needed little alteration. "Pangs of death" is varied to "latest gasp" here, having been used in the clangor passage. But the latter occurred at York's death (II i 108). "Congealed blood" (37), not in Q here, was in both texts earlier (I. iii. 52); four lines here in Q, after (33), "Why, then I would not fly," appear to have been trespassing. They have been expelled, and one is used above at II. i. 53; for the others see above at II. iii. 3-5.

Act v. Scene iii. A brief scene, altered in wording slightly,

and given a speech from Clarence of four lines. The substance and the thoughts expressed are identical. Some reminders of Peele, "I mean" (7) and "easeful" (6), are left unchanged. "Bigboned," an interesting word (found in *Selimus* and *Soliman and Perseda*), is turned out. Compare "burly boned" in *2 Henry VI* IV. x. 60. It is probably earliest here, and Shakespeare's or Peele's, and more likely still a common vocable.

Act v. Scene iv. Greatly developed and improved from Q, but on exactly the same lines of structure. Margaret's opening speech of eleven by no means bad lines, becomes a splendid utterance of thirty-eight lines, the metaphor of the "ship with its tackling and masts" destroyed, the "pilot" and the "dangerous gulfs or quicksands," remaining as the motive. The Prince's reply (in Q) is poor stuff, judiciously rewritten, line for line. The remainder is almost identical with two rather sickly utterances of thanks from Queen and Prince. The Prince's speech is the most un-Shakespearian one in Q, but it is of the stock order of heroics. It has, however, "for to," "thickest throngs," and a bragging tone recalling Greene or Peele infected by Marlowe. "Thickest throngs" has been omitted twice already, at *2 Henry VI*. (end of *Contention*) and at II. iii. 16. Margaret's character here required modelling, according to Shakespeare's view, for she is not the Margaret of history who was completely disheartened by Barnet field. Her only hope was to save her son after that. In both these plays she is of undaunted spirit. Another "well I wot" is here (71) added. Note the "owl" parallel from Golding's Ovid, but probably elsewhere (56-57). The close of the scene is but little changed, but Margaret's speech (69-71) is all out of order in Q, as though it were a memorandum of something to be attended to—a *précis* mislaid.

Act v. Scene v. Opens in Q with an elaborate stage-instruction, as was commonly the case in *Contention*, after Peele's manner. But not so in *The True Tragedy*, our Q. The scene is reduced from 122 lines to 90 but about 15 are new, of which Margaret gets ten, including two startling ones (7-8) about "sweet Jerusalem," and another (53), "They that stabbed Cæsar." Several of the continued phrases (see Table) occur in this scene, as "twit one with" (40), "fill the world

with" (44), "Marry, and shall" (42). Gloucester is placed on his footing as a proverb-monger in the term "currish Aesop" (26). He gives the "woman wear the breeches" one (23-24) which was in 2 *Henry VI* I. iii. 144. "Charm one's tongue" (31) was there likewise Shakespeare's work in both plays.

Act v Scene vi. Very little altered from Q Henry is attended to, the *Roscius* speech (7-10) is new, but his main utterance, his death-speech, is unchanged. The *Icarus* illustration (18-20) was used before of Talbot and his son in Part I, at his death. A line, "spark of life" (66), is almost verbatim in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Several hints seem to have been taken from Golding's Ovid. Another passage (61-62), "Aspiring blood of Lancaster . . . mounted" has been advanced in favour of Marlowe's hand, from passages in *Edward II*. If they prove anything, I believe it cuts the other way, and that Marlowe was struck by them in the earlier play, *The True Tragedy* (Q). Dyce advanced this. In the same speech of Gloucester's, another line, "Down, down . . . say I sent thee" (67), has been brought forward in support of Greene's authorship from its resemblance to a passage in his *Alphonsus*. But the likeness is vague, and the sentiment is frequent, and to be found where Shakespeare knew it, in *The Faerie Queene*. No such hints, even were they well founded, could undermine Shakespeare's claim from the writing itself.

Act v. Scene vii. Hardly varies in a word from Q. "Fruit" (32) replaces "child," while "tree" replaces "fruit" in previous line; and the old "renowned" (5) is altered to "renowned". One or two lines are thrown into metre. Compare the last lines with those of Part II. "Waft" (41) is characteristic of Parts II. and III.

I have endeavoured in the above running comments to bring the noteworthy differences and agreements in the two texts into some vividness. It seemed to be feasible here, although the previous play would not easily admit of it. The differences are of three sorts, correction, characterisation and poetisation (if such a barbarous word may be used).

No kind word has been said yet in favour of the Q text. But it is of value in its own readings a few times.

*Q Reading.*

I. i. 11 Is either slaine or wounded *dangerouslie*

I. i. 261. When I return with victorie *from* the field

I. iii. 51-52 till thy blood, Congealed with *his*. (Overlooked, Cambridge)

II. i. 113 And very well-appointed as I thought

II. i. 130-131. like the night-Owles lazie flight, Or like an *idle* thresher.

II. i. 182. Why via, to London will we march *amaine*

II. ii. 133. *Rich*. Whoever got thee . . .

(II. vi. 8 The common people swarm like summer flies

III. iii. 124 his love was an *eternall* plant

v. i. 81 [*takes his red rose out of his hat*

(v. ii. 44 Which sounded like a clamour in a vault.

\* v. iv. 75. You see, I drinke the water of mine eies.

*Ff Reading.*

Is either slaine or wounded *dangerous*

When I return with victorie *to* the field (corrected Ff 2, 3, 4).

till thy blood, Congealed with *this*

Omitted Ff.

like the Night-Owles lazie flight, Or like a *lazie* thresher

Why via, to London will we march

*War*. Whoever got thee . . .

Omitted [But not necessary]

) his love was an *externall* plant.

Omitted.

Which sounded like a cannon in a vault [I prefer cannon]. . . )

Ye see I drink the water of my eye

Other Q readings are accepted, or were accepted by different editors, but I have confined myself to those in the Cambridge Shakespeare (1895) I may have overlooked some, one or two I reject in favour of the Folio And I am not sure "shrimp" (III. ii. 156) ought not to be accepted. Compare "writhled shrimp," *1 Henry VI.* II. iii. 23.

## TIME-ANALYSIS.

The following is Mr. P. A. Daniel's summary of his time-analysis of *3 Henry VI.* (*New Shaks Soc.* 1879): "Time of this play 20 days represented on the stage, with intervals suggesting a period in all of say two months Day 1, Act I. scene i. Interval, Day 2, Act I. scenes ii-iv. Interval, Day 3, Act II. scene i. Interval; Day 4, Act II. scenes ii-vi. Interval; Day 5, Act III. scene i. Interval; Day 6, Act III. scene ii. Interval, Day 7, Act III. scene iii. Interval, Day 8, Act IV. scene i. Interval, Day 9, Act IV. scenes ii and iii. Interval; Day 10, Act IV. scene iv. Interval, Day 11, Act IV. scene v. Interval, Day 12, Act IV. scene vi. Interval, Day 13, Act IV. scene vii. Interval, Day 14, Act IV. scene viii. Interval, Day 15, Act IV. scene viii

(l 53 to end Bishop's Palace scene) Interval; Day 16, Act v scene i Interval, Day 17, Act v scenes ii and iii. Interval, Day 18, Act v scenes iv and v Interval; Day 19, Act v scene vi; Day 20, Act v scene vii The historic period here dramatised commences on the day of the battle of St. Albans, 23rd May, 1455, and ends on the day on which Henry VI's body was exposed in St. Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Queen Margaret, however, was not ransomed and sent to France till 1475

And the connection of this play with its successor *Richard III.* must always be borne in mind Mr Daniel says "The connection of this (*Richard III.*) with the preceding play, in point of time is singularly elastic, not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI is but two days old—his unburied corpse bleeds afresh in the presence of the murderer. Edward's eldest son is now a promising youth. Time has stood still with the chief *dramatis personæ*. . . they step forward in the new scene much as when in the last play the curtain fell"

With regard to character development in this part, enough has been said above, and in my notes. The chief new feature is of course Gloucester, one of whose traits, his proverbial lore, is noticed above in this Introduction. For an excellent study of him see Mr Thomson's edition of *Richard III.* in this series. Grafton gives a very full description in Hardyng's *Continuation* of this terrible scourge, who might be regarded as an anticipation of the English view of Machiavel in Elizabeth's time, with whom Shakespeare makes him compare himself

#### PARALLELS FROM EARLIER OR CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

##### PEELE

Those from Greene are not numerous or important enough to be made special reference to. Nor is there as much evidence of Peele's assistance as I expected. He may be referred to at "main battle" (I i 8), "unpeople" (I i 126), "ground gape and swallow" (I i 161), "soul's palace . . . prison" (II i 74), "hard as steel" (II i 201, and at II i 199), "refrain" (II ii 110), "By him that made us . . . dine to-night"



(II. ii. 126), "Spring-time" (II. iii. 47), "drunken with blood" (II. iii. 23), "remunerate" (II. iii. 50-52), II. iv. 1-4, "effuse of blood" (II. vi. 28), "world goes hard" (II. vi. 77), "unstaunched thirst" (II. vi. 83), "ghostly father" (III. ii. 107), "golden time" (III. ii. 127), "lade" (III. ii. 139), III. ii. 16, "thrust (Q) from" (III. iii. 190), "With sleight and manhood" (IV. ii. 20), "Atlas" (V. i. 36), "deck" (V. i. 43-44), "Coal-black" (V. i. 54), V. iii. 1-18, "rids way" (V. iii. 21), "holding anchor" (V. iv. 4) See, too, note (to Q passage) at "thirsty sword . . . lop" (II. iv. 1-4).

There are more probably, but this list does not contain enough solidity to build upon. The passages referred to are often found in positions where there is no sign of Peele's style. Sometimes, however, there is. Sometimes, on the other hand, the references are by no means valuable—only I had no better Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* has a few of the above.

## KYD

I have, in Introduction to Part II., given an assemblage of expressions from *The Spanish Tragedy* that are met with in Parts I., II. and III., as well as in *Contention* and *True Tragedie*. The examination there made suggests that Kyd's great play preceded all these plays excepting *The First Contention* and possibly *1 Henry VI*. But from other evidence I believe it did precede *1 Henry VI*. And further it suggested that *The Contention* is an earlier play than *1 Henry VI*, which from other evidence is probably the case.

When we came to *2 Henry VI*, *True Tragedy* and *3 Henry VI*, all these betrayed familiarity with *The Spanish Tragedy*, this deduction gives a useful standing-ground. I am inclined to think some space of time (certainly not less than a year) elapsed between the composition of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. To return to Kyd. His next work in order was probably *Cornelia*, not, I believe, an acted play, and not perhaps of much note—probably a failure and also only a translation. But *Soliman and Perseda* is an excellent play and admittedly Kyd's. It was entered in the Stationers' Register, 22nd November, 1592 (Boas), and no doubt printed very soon afterwards, and possibly an undated edition existing

may be of that issue Professor Boas thinks it may have been earlier than *Cornelia*, and written about 1588, or possibly a few years later. In this choice of vagueness the latter is the more worthy of acceptance. There seems to be no argument for placing it earlier than the close of 1592. But Professor Boas's edition of Kyd must be no more than referred to here.

Let us see how it stands with regard to this later play of Kyd's and our quintet *Soliman and Perseda*, with the excellent Basilisco and Piston, the former referred to by Shakespeare in *King John*, was a very popular play

I iv 136 *As opposite as the south to the Septentrion. Soliman and Perseda*, III iv 5. "From East to West, from South to Septentrion" In Q.

I iv 179 *Off with his head, and set it on Yorke Gates. Soliman and Perseda*, v iv 112 "Off with his head and suffer him not to speake" In Q. And in the earlier *Contention*, Q, at 2 *Henry VI* iv. 1 103. Also in *Selmus*, by Greene, etc, later

II. 1 25 *Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns?* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. 1. 244. "Dasell mine eyes, or ist Lucinas chaine." In Q

II. 1 91-92 *Nay if thou be that princely eagle's bird, Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun* *Soliman and Perseda*, III. 1 85 "As ayre bred Eagles, if they once perceiue That any of their broode but close their sight When they should gase against the glorious Sunne, They straight way sease upon him" In Q

II. 1. 200. *But sound the trumpets, and about our task* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. 1 211 "Why then, lets make us ready, and about it" Not in Q. Probably early and frequent? In *Tamburlaine*

II. 11 66 *Spoken like a toward prince (keen for battle)* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iv. 35-36 "Tis wondrous that so yong a toward warriour Should bide the shock of such approved knights" In Q. In *Tamburlaine*

II. v 5 (in Q) *How like a mastlesse ship upon the seas.* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. 11 2: "But shall I, like a mastlesse ship at sea, Goe every way."

III. 1. 314 (in Q) *troops of armed men (and 1 Henry VI II. 11 24). Cornelia* "huge troops of Arméd men" (II 173).

III. 11 83 *He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom.* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. 11 211 "the braginst knave in Christendom" In Q

v 1 37. *weakling (to a person)* *Soliman and Perseda*, II. 1 80. "the weakling coward" In Q

v. 111 3 (in Q) *the bigboond traytor Warwick* *Soliman and Perseda*, I. 11 59 "The sudden Frenchman, and the bigbon'd Dane" In *Selmus*, and in *Titus Andronicus*

v. 111. 11 (in *Contention*, Q). *I saw him in the thickest throng Charging his lance.* II. 111 14 (in *True Tragedy*, Q). *Thy noble father in the thickest*

*thronges . . . was beset* And again *True Tragedy*, v. iv. 18 *With my Sword presse in the thickest thronges.* *Cornelia*, v. 1 183-5 "Bellona . . . in the thickest throng Cuts . . ." In Marlowe. In Q (*Contention* and *True Tragedy*)

v. iv 78. *His realm a slaughter-house, his subjects slain* And in *2 Henry VI* iii. 1 212 (and iv iii. 5, literally, by the butcher). *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iii 43. "To leade a Lambe into the slaughter-house" This example is not, perhaps, of any weight. In Q (*Contention*)

v. vi 33 *Bloody-minded* Also in *2 Henry VI* iv 1. 36, and Quartos at both "Bloody minded cruell men" (*Cornelia*, iv. ii. 203) *Well-proportioned* in *2 Henry VI*. iii ii. 175 (and Q) is also in *Soliman and Perseda*, iii 1. 19.

Several of the above parallels are undeniably cogent, and as they go back to the Quartos in all cases—often to *First Contention*—there can be no question where the priority of use lies. Kyd (if Kyd wrote all *Soliman and Perseda*, which is an assumption) picked them out of these earlier works. But to those who would like to give Kyd a finger in the original pieces, these are useful weapons. I have given my reasons for not making that assumption. It would be difficult to prove or disprove. Hardly any mannerisms can be sworn to as Kyd's. But on the other side it is to be admitted in his claim that Kyd had a very nice sense of humour. When this group is added to *The Spanish Tragedy* group in Part II. (Introduction), there is a better array of evidence for Kyd than for either Greene or Marlowe—of this sort. But of other sorts—often more weighty, from metre, from style, from pronounced mannerisms—there is none for Kyd. I conclude then that Kyd in *Soliman and Perseda* (or some one else) used those expressions at second-hand. And it is very noticeable that not one of the best instances, hardly one of any sort, appears for the first time in *3 Henry VI*, but is there taken from Q. So that as regards the dates of writing we may be right in placing *Soliman and Perseda* (as well as *Cornelia*) after *The True Tragedy*, but prior to *3 Henry VI*. The logic is fair. If the writer of *Soliman and Perseda* was sufficiently attracted by Q to borrow from it, he would assuredly have used more of *3 Henry VI*, if his Q borrowings came from there.

This places *3 Henry VI* not earlier than the end of 1592.

The above line of reasoning is further established in Part II (Introduction), where we have seen that *The Contention* pre-

ceded *The Spanish Tragedy*, although the latter preceded 2 *Henry VI*. Some order like the following may be set down tentatively for convenience —

1588 (1) *First Contention, Spanish Tragedy* 1589-1590  
(2) 1 *Henry VI* 1590-1 (3) *True Tragedy* 1591-2 (4)  
2 *Henry VI* 1592 *Soliman and Perseda*, (5) 3 *Henry VI*

## SPENSER.

Parallels from Spenser are not very striking—not enough to rank as loans—but sufficient to show how Shakespeare was imbued with his writings. Reference will be necessary only to the passages where information is to be found. These are some —

## ACT I

*Entreat fair* (I 1. 271), *sturdy* (I 1. 50), *lukewarm blood* (I. II 34); *blood, Congealed* (I III 51); *purple (blood)* (I. IV 12)

## ACT II

*Morning like a younker prancing to his love* (II 1. 21-24), *prime of youth* (II 1. 23); *younker* (II 1. 24), *piteous spectacle* (II 1. 67, Q); *saddest*. *that* (II 1. 67), *the same* (II 1. 67); *coats of steel* (II 1. 160), *once again* (II 1. 183); *sunshine day* (II 1. 187); *hap hope* (II. III. 8-9), *piteous spectacle* (II v 73)

## ACTS IV and v

*Coverture* (IV. II 13), *night's black mantle* (IV II 22); *single from* (at v IV. 49 Q), *go*. *sent thee to Hell* (v VI. 67), *ramping lion* (v. II 13).

Of these, *entreat him fair, lukewarm blood, younker prancing to his love, prime of youth, night's black mantle*, are not in Q. Enough possibly remains to show that Shakespeare's acquaintance with the *Faerie Queene* preceded both plays.

## GOLDING.

Another early love of Shakespeare's figures many times in these notes. Reference may be made to "Tire on flesh" (eagle) (I. I 269), "hearten" (II II 79), "day nor night" (II v. 4), "breast to breast" (II. v. II), "cut the sea" (II VI 89), "pass and repass" (seas) (IV VII 5), "owl by day . . . mocked" (v IV. 56), "currish" (v v 26), "owl shriek'd . . . dogs howled" (v. VI 44-46).

## POEMS, AND PARTS I., II AND III.

Of parallels between the three Parts and Shakespeare's undoubted work, it is the duty of my notes to speak. A culling was made for reference in the Introduction to Part I.

## KING HENRY THE SIXTH      xxvii

which is more in dispute (as Shakespeare's) than the others. But it would be absurd to make such an attempt for the later parts—they are full of Shakespeare. Nevertheless it is possible to make an exception in favour of the Poems. They are also very early in his work, they are undoubted, and it is a fact that there are a number of interesting expressions confined to the Poems and these plays. The later Parts are more important, on account of the correlation between these passages in their early state, as well as in the finished plays. Any information as to the earlier, or parallel history of these expressions must be sought for in the notes. But I only select those worth selecting, and I feel assured, I regret to say, I have omitted not a few. Unless mentioned, no other use in Shakespeare occurs.

### PART I.

I. II. 77 *sun's parching heat*. *Lucrece*, 1145 "That knows not parching heat nor freezing cold", see again in *2 Henry VI.* I. I. 79 Not in Q.

I. IV. 33. *vile-esteemed*. *Sonnet cxxi* "'Tis better to be vile than vile-esteemed"

I. IV. 74 *Martial men* *Lucrece*, 200 "A martial man to be soft fancy's slave."

III. I. 43 *lordly* (twice again, and twice in *2 Henry VI.*) *Lucrece*, 1731 "his lordly crew."

IV. II. 32 *Unconquered*. And *2 Henry VI.* IV. x. 65. *Lucrece*, 408

IV. III. 21 *hemmed about with Venus and Adonis*, 1022 "hemmed with thieves", and 229

IV. VI. 12 *bold-faced victory Venus and Adonis*, 6. "bold-faced suitor."

IV. VII. 45 *inhearsed in* *Sonnet lxxxvi*. "thoughts in my brain inhearse"

V. III. 192. *natural graces that extinguish art* *Lucrece*, 313: "the smoke of it. Extinguishing."

V. IV. 7. *decrepit miser* ("decrepit father," *Love's Labour's Lost*) *Sonnet xxxvii*. "decrepit father" (and in *Venus and Adonis*)

V. IV. 89. *gloomy shade* ("gloomy woods" in *Titus Andronicus*) *Lucrece*, 803. "gloomy place."

### PART II.

I. II. 3. *Knit his brows* (also in *2 Henry VI.* and *3 Henry VI.*) *Lucrece*, 709. "With heavy eye, knit brows" In Q (*True Tragedy*)

I. I. 95 *Blotting*. . . *from books* (of memory) and *Richard II.* *Lucrece*, 948 "blot old books and alter their contents" Not in Q.

III. II. 141 *chafe*. . . *lips*. *Venus and Adonis*, 477 "chafes her lips." Not in Q.

- III. II 165 *Aidance*. *Venus and Adonis*, 330 "aidance." Not in Q.  
 III. II. 175 *well-proportioned beard*. *Venus and Adonis*, 290: "well-proportioned steed." In Q  
 III II. 198. *vengeful sword* (and "vengeful waggon," *Titus Andronicus*). *Sonnet xcix*. "A vengeful canker." In Q.  
 III II 217, and 3 *Henry VI*. v. v. 67. *deathsmen* (and *King Lear*). *Lucrece*, 1001 "deathsmen to so base a slave." In *Contention*.

## PART III

- I. I 47. *falcon's bells*. *Lucrece*, 511: "as fowl hear falcon's bells" (causing terror). In Q  
 I. IV 28 *quenchless fury* *Lucrece*, 1554 "quenchless fire." In Q. (Common earlier? Marlowe.)  
 I. IV 34 *at the noon tide prick* *Lucrece*, 781: "Ere he arrive his weary noon tide prick" In Q  
 II II 15 *mortal sting* *Lucrece*, 364: "mortal sting" In Q  
 II II 41 *steel thy melting heart*. *Venus and Adonis*, 376 "heart . . . being steeled" In Q ("thoughts").  
 III. I. 37 *make battery . . . breast*. *Venus and Adonis*, 426. "make no battery . . . (in) heart." Not in Q See *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. xiv 39.  
 III I. 38 *tears pierce marble heart* II. II 50 *much rain wears the marble* *Lucrece*, 560 "Tears harden lust, though marble wears with raining" Not in Q  
 V. I 37 *weakling* (epithet of contempt). *Lucrece*, 584 "thyself art mighty . . myself a weakling" In Q  
 V. VI 85 *sort . . . a day* *Lucrece*, 899: "when wilt thou sort an hour" In Q  
 III I 141 *brimsh* (and *Titus Andronicus*. *Lucrece*, 1213, and *Lover's Complaint*, 284)

The above are of interest, but the results they afford are very mixed They help to establish one point; that the Greene terms used in the trilogy were discarded (in most cases) later by Shakespeare These poems are later than the quintet.

MARLOWE—*TAMBURLAINE* AND *HENRY VI*.

I have reserved for final consideration the evidences of Marlowe's hand that appear in these plays from *Tamburlaine*, Parts I and II. 1586-1587. In some points of view it is a satisfactory study, since the dates are indisputable, and Marlowe's play occupies a well-defined position and relationship It was earlier work than any of the *Henry VI*. group, and earlier than *The Spanish Tragedy* by Kyd, with which it has practically nothing in common. It was earlier, I imagine, than any of

Peele's plays except *The Arraignment of Paris*. And its effect upon the English stage cannot be better illustrated than by noting the change in Peele's style, for he seized on *Tamburlaine* (as did also Greene) with rapture, and not unlikely its appearance instigated Kyd to make his great attempt at rivalry. *Tamburlaine* was well worthy of its success and the stir it caused, especially Part I. One never can read it without a fresh sense of joy and amazement, joy at its untrammelled vigour and beauties, amazement at its superiority over all preceding and contemporary dramas. One of the first thoughts that occurs is, can the author of this play, or these plays, be supposed to have written *The Contention* or *1 Henry VI* after he had written *Tamburlaine*? It seems to me there is only one reply. *Tamburlaine* may not be dramatically great, but it is greatness itself in dignity, in poetry, and in sustained power. It seldom flags and it is continually magnificent. It is for that reason I see so little of Marlowe's own self in those two plays. They are far beneath it, continually flagging, and wherever they can claim any grandeur (even in *2 Henry VI*) or excellence in poetry, it is of a wholly different kind—more human and true and real perhaps—more dramatically correct (as representing people not personifications of qualities or passions) but generally meaner in thought and in poetic diction.

Greene set himself to rival Marlowe at his own price, with his own weapons of bounce and bombast. Peele did so in a less degree (*Alcazar*), and by no means so slavishly (*Old Wives Tale*, *Edward I.*). Just as they did so, so did Shakespeare adopt a more true mode, in depicting human beings as they are. And as Shakespeare was right, and Greene and Marlowe faulty in this essential principle, so did the latter take up a new mantle in his later work; and although a "trick of the old rage" appears in *Edward the Second* several times, he has improved many faults of bombast and unreality out of all recognition. The measure also in that play has much greater freedom and fluency. But as its date with regard to the *Henry VI.* cycle is open to argument, and can hardly be determined even relatively (it is usually set down as 1590-1591), it is better to consider *Tamburlaine* alone, and it will be seen that such consideration helps to conclusions.

A similar chastening and purification may even be observed in Greene's style, if we set his *James the Fourth* against his earlier *Orlando Furioso* and *Alphonsus of Arragon*. And his latest prose has the same tendency. Probably these are signs of a general reactionary movement in the forefront of which we may set Shakespeare himself.

When reading *Tamburlaine* carefully for this study with word lists of my own compilation,<sup>6</sup> of Spenser (up to 1591), of Peele, of Greene, and with the *Henry VI* group beside me, two continual facts enforced themselves. One was the constant evidence of Marlowe's use of Spenser, particularly *Faerie Queene* (I, II and III.), and the other was the number of times Peele's later use of many thoughts and words derived itself from *Tamburlaine*. To adapt Margaret's position in *3 Henry VI.* III. 1, Marlowe is between Spenser and Peele —

Ay, but she's come to beg, Warwick to give;  
She on his left side craving aid for Henry,  
He on his right side asking a wife for Edward

The almond-tree on Selinus' Mount, and the herd of *Cymbrion* bulls may be mentioned as aids from Spenser in a prominent way. In my notes will often be found parallels from Peele side by side with their source in Marlowe ("prison of my soul," Part III. II. 174, occurs to my memory first). But Peele used Marlowe continually, and it may be suggested at once that he used him in helping at *Henry VI* sometimes, in order to relieve Shakespeare from doing too much of the plume-plucking which the following lists disclose. Shakespeare accepts Marlowe's terms, but not his silly-stately style. Neither did Peele finally. Shakespeare does not accept his early dummy and mumming figureheads of men and women. Both of them seem to have had a different military dictionary from Marlowe.

In *Tamburlaine*, Part II, there is in some ways a falling off. That high bombastic flight at Xenocrate's death (III. ii) against the gods, is more extravagant and the scene of his death where he has his sons and his friends around him (v. iii) in lengthened conversation, is worse in its unreality than anything in either play—or in any play. And *Tamburlaine* himself is more abominable, but did anyone ever pen a better line de-



scriptive of the "thunder of ordnance" in battle than "The crack, the echo, and the soldiers cry Make deaf the air"? There is another departure Shakespeare was prompt to make. He hardly ever gives us studies of the geography and of the zoology and *personnel* of hell—the dogs, the curs, the hags of Tartarus—the rivers Phlegethon, Styx, and Cocytus—Lerna and Avernus, etc. Kyd followed the others in believing these to be necessary adjuncts of tragic writing. I mentioned that there is little evidence or none of community between *Tamburlaine* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. But that does not at all apply to Kyd's later plays *Cornelia* and *Soliman and Perseda*, which show many signs of *Tamburlaine*. The absence of *Tamburlaine* from Kyd's tragedy is unexpected; Kyd was not addicted to self-restraint of that sort. Possibly they were simultaneous, or else Kyd had no acquaintance with it.

With these preliminary remarks (for the insufficiency and inadequateness of which I must express my apologies) I will quote my selected parallels —

## I HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

## ACT I

I. i. 3 Comets . . Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky. *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. 1 (32, b): "Flora in her morning's pride Shaking her silver tresses in the air"

I. i. 149 "I'll hale the Dauphin headlong from his throne" *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. iii (65, a) "Haling him headlong to the lowest hell"

I. ii. 47 Bastard of Orleans, thrice-welcome to us *Tamburlaine*, Part I. v. 1 (36, b) "O sight thrice-welcome to my joyful soul, To see the king" See Introduction to Part I on this figure "Thrice-valiant" is in *First Contention* (at Part II. i. 1 188) In *Tamburlaine*, "thrice-noble," "thrice-renowned" and "thrice-worthy" (Part II.) also occur

I. ii. 136. With Henry's death the English circle ends *Tamburlaine*, Part I. ii. vi (18, a) "The loathsome circle of my dated life."

I. vi. 12 Why ring not out the bells . . Command the citizens make bonfires *Tamburlaine*, Part I. iii. iii (25, b). "Now will the Christian Miscreants be glad, Ringing with joy their superstitious bells, And making bonfires"

## ACT II.

II. i. 12 Having all day caroused and banqueted *Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. 1 (end). "Come banquet and carouse with us a while" *Tamburlaine*, Part II. Act I (end) "Come, let us banquet and carouse the whiles", and elsewhere And in *Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. iv. 5. "Let us freely banquet and carouse Full bowls of wine"

II 1 43. *Since first I follow'd arms Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii.* (47, a). "But, while my brothers follow arms, my lord, Let me accompany my gracious mother"

II 1. 80 *I have loaden me with many spoils. Tamburlaine, Part I. i 1 (8, a).* "milk-white steeds of mine all loaden with the heads of killed men" Note "of mine" here, as "arm of mine" (*Tamburlaine, Part II iv iii (65, a)*), "breast of mine" (*Tamburlaine, Part II v 1, (69, a)*), frequent in these three plays, but not so, later, in Shakespeare. Archaic.

II 11 48, 49 *a world of men Could not prevail with all their oratory. Tamburlaine, Part II i 1 (44, a)* "He brings a world of people to the field"

II. 111. 62 *These (soldiers) are his substance, sinews, arms and strength. Tamburlaine, Part II. i 1 (45, a).* "stout lancers of Germany The strength and sinews of the imperial seat"

II v 11, 12, 13. *pathless . sapless . strengthless Tamburlaine, Part II 11 111 (51, a)* "breathless . . . senseless . . . quenchless" And II iv (same page) "endless ceaseless" Grouping these adjectives (often new) became a vogue

II. v. 47-49 *He used his lavish tongue And did upbraid me with . . . obloquy Tamburlaine, Part I iv 11 (27, a).* "You must devise some torment . . . To make these captives rein their lavish tongues" Earlier in Golding

#### ACT III.

III 1. 171. *I girt thee with Tamburlaine, Part II. 111 v. (58, a)* "to girt Natolia's walls with siege"

III 111. 7. *We'll pull his plumes and take away his train Tamburlaine, Part I. i 11 (7, b)* "Tamburlaine That . . . as I hear, doth mean to pull my plumes."

III 11 v. 38. *The law of arms is such That whoso draws a sword Tamburlaine, Part I. 11 iv (16, a)* "Thou breakst the law of arms, unless thou kneel." Probably earlier

#### ACT IV.

IV 1 97 *Vile and ignominious terms. Tamburlaine, Part II v 1. (69, a)* "vile and ignominious servitude" "Ignominious" occurs also *Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 111. and 2 Henry VI. 111 1. 179* A new word then.

IV 1 175 *I promise you, the king Prettily, methought, did play the orator (and in Parts II and III). Tamburlaine, Part I i. 11 (11, a):* "look you I should play the orator," and "Our swords shall play the orators for us." See Table of Continued Expressions

IV. 111. 21 *Hemm'd about with grim destruction. Tamburlaine, Part I. 11 iv (16, a):* "Till I may see thee hemm'd with armed men"

IV. 111. 3 *Smear'd with captivity. Tamburlaine, Part I v 1. (34, b):* "Smeared with blots of basest drudgery"

IV. 111. 36. *Did flesh his puny sword in Frenchmen's blood. Tamburlaine, Part II. iv 1. (61, a):* "to flesh our taintless swords."

IV. 111. 72, 73. *Here is a silly stately style indeed ' The Turk that two-*

## KING HENRY THE SIXTH      xxxiii

*and-fifty Kingdoms hath. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. i (53, a): "Bajazeth, by the aid of God . . . Emperor of Natolia . . . and all the hundred and thirty kingdoms . . . Emperor of Turkey"*

### ACT V

v. II 13 *And means to give you battle presently. Tamburlaine, Part II. v. III (71, a): "Death with armies of Cimmerian spirits Gives battle 'gainst the heart of Tamburlaine"*

v. III 11 *familiar spirits . . . Out of the powerful regions under earth Tamburlaine, Part II. IV. III (65, a). "O thou that sway'st the region under earth . . . a king as absolute as Jove"*

v. III. 155. *Free from oppression or the stroke of war. Tamburlaine, Part I. II. v (16, b). "Since he is yielded to the stroke of war"*

v. IV 5 *timeless death (and in Parts I and II) Tamburlaine, Part II (end). "Let earth and heaven his timeless death deplore"* Not in either Quarto of later Parts See Table of Continued Expressions Earlier in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) "to see Andrugio tymeles dye" (Part I. II. 1).

v. IV 87 *May never glorious sun reflex his beams Upon the country. Tamburlaine, Part I. III. II. (20, a). "For neither rain can fall upon the earth, Nor sun reflex his virtuous beams thereon."*

v. IV. 120. *boiling choler chokes The hollow passage of my poison'd voice Tamburlaine, Part II. III. II (55, a). "sorrow stops the passage of my speech."*

v. v. 28. *How shall we then dispense with that contract? Tamburlaine, Part I. v. 1 (31, a): "I fear the custom . . . Will never be dispens'd with till our deaths"*

## 2 HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

### ACT I.

I. i. 16 *The fairest queen that ever king received. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. v (59, a). "The worthiest knight that ever brandished sword"* (See Introduction, Part I. Spenser) In Q.

I. i. 78, 79. *lodge in open field In Winter's cold and Summer's . . . heat. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. II. (55, a): "sleep upon the ground . . . Sustain the scorching heat and freezing cold"* Not in Q

I. 1 98. *Blotting your names from books of memory Tamburlaine, Part II. III. 1. (53, b): "all the world should blot his dignities Out of the book of base-born infamies"* Not in Q

I. III. 82 *base-born callat. Tamburlaine, Part I. II. II. (14, b). "base-born Tartars."* (Often in both Parts) Not in Q

I. IV 14. *To this gear. Tamburlaine, Part I. II. II. (14, a): "let us to this gear"* Not in Q

I. IV 16 *Well said (well done) Tamburlaine, Part II. v. 1. (69, b). "Well said" (well done)* Not in Q

### ACT II.

II. i. 161, 162. *you have done more miracles than I, You made . . . whole towns to fly. Tamburlaine, Part II. III. II. (55, a): "to undermine a*

town, And make whole cities caper in the air." (Surely Shakespeare is mocking at Marlowe here, like the silly-stately style of the Turks.) Not in Q.

## ACT III

III. i 49 *As next the king he was successive heir* Tamburlaine, Part II. III. i (53, a): "son and successive heir to . . . Bajazeth." Not in Q.

III. i 362, 363. *his thighs with darts Were almost like a sharp-quilled porpentine* Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii (46, b) "hair . . . soft as down, (which should be like the quills of porpentine)" Not in Q. The verb "to caper" (new) occurs in both passages, but not in Q.

III. ii 44 *Did chase away the first-conceived sound.* Tamburlaine, Part I. III. ii (20, b): "As it hath chang'd my first-conceived disdain" Not in Q.

III. ii 80 *Erect his statue and worship it* Tamburlaine, Part II. ii (end) (53, b). "And here will I set up her statue [Q], And march about it" Not in Q.

III. ii 340. *That I may dew it with my mournful tears.* Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. ii (63, b) "this earth, dew'd with thy brinish tears, Affords no herbs" ("Brinish" is only in 3 *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus*) Not in Q.

III. iii. 19 *O thou eternal Mover of the heavens!* Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. ii (26, b): "The chiefest god, first mover of that sphere." Not in Q.

## ACT IV

IV. i 48. *Jove sometimes went disguised, and why not I?* Tamburlaine, Part I. i. ii (12, a) "Jove sometime masked in a shepherd's weed." Adopted into 2 *Henry VI.* from Q. It probably dropt out of F by some accident.

IV. ii. 121 *Rebellious hinds, the filth and scum of Kent.* Tamburlaine, Part I. iii. iii. (22, a): "cruel pirates of Argier . . . the scum of Africa." And iv. iii. (28, a). And Tamburlaine, Part II. iv. i. (62, a) Not in Q.

IV. ii. 163. *Fellow kings, I tell you that . . .* Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii (48, a). "loving friends and fellow kings" And iv. iii. (65, a). Not in Q.

IV. i 180. *And you that be the king's friends follow me* Tamburlaine, Part II. i. iii (47, a). "If thou wilt love the wars and follow me" See Table of Continued Expressions. Not in Q.

IV. iv. 10 *God forbid so many simple souls Should perish by the sword* Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. ii. (28, a): "Not one should scape, but perish by our swords." Not in Q.

IV. vii. 114 *if . . . God should be so obdurate as yourselves* (and 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 92) Tamburlaine, Part I. v. i. (31, a): "Might have entreated your obdurate breasts" Not in Q.

IV. x 53-54 *As for words . . . Let this my sword report* Tamburlaine, Part I. i. i. (8, a): "Go, stout Theridamas, thy words are swords." (But earlier examples in note to *passa e*) Not in Q.

# KING HENRY THE SIXTH      xxxv

IV x 84 *Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon. Tamburlaine,*  
Part II. II. III (51, b) "We will both watch and ward shall keep his  
trunk Amidst these plains for fowls to prey upon" Not in Q.

## 3 HENRY VI. AND TAMBURLAINE.

### ACT I.

I. I. 91. *with colours spread March'd through the city to the palace gates.* *Tamburlaine,* Part I. IV. I (25, a): "Hath spread his colours to our high disgrace" *Tamburlaine,* Part II. I. III (48, a) "Under my colours March ten thousand Greeks" In Q

I. I. 126 *first shall war unpeople this my realm* *Tamburlaine,* Part I. III. III (22, a) "Let him bring millions infinite of men, Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece"; and *Tamburlaine,* Part II. I. I. (48, a): "To aid thee . Is Barbary unpeopled for thy sake." In Q Also in Peele and Spenser Of no weight probably.

I. III. 29-31. *To wear a crown Within whose circuit is Elysium . bliss and joy* *Tamburlaine,* Part I. II. V (17, a) "the pleasure they enjoy in heaven Cannot compare with kingly joys on earth, To wear a crown . . .", and scene VII (18, b). "that perfect bliss, The sweet fruition of an earthly crown." Not in Q Compare the argument here about breaking oaths with that in *Tamburlaine,* Part II. II. I (49, 50).

### ACT II

II. I. 27. *racking clouds.* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. IV. III. (65, a). "racking clouds" In Q ("a Racking cloud")

II. I. 74, 75 *my soul's palace has become a prison Ah, would she break from hence!* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. IV. II. (63, b) "a passage for my troubled soul, Which beats against this prison to get out" In Q.

II. I. 91 *princely eagle* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. IV. III (66, b). "princely eagles" In Q.

II. I. 160 *Shall we go throw away our coats of steel* *Tamburlaine,* Part I. IV. II (27, a): "My sword struck fire from his coat of steel." In Q

II. I. 200 *But sound the trumpets, and about our task.* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. III. III. (56, b). "come, let's about it" Not in Q

II. I. 201 *as hard as steel* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. I. III. (46, b): "hard as iron or steel" Not in Q

II. II. 66. *I'll draw it (sword) . . . And . . . use it to the death . . . spoken like a toward prince* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. IV. I (61, a): "My other toward brother here, For person like to prove a second Mars." In Q. Promising Specially refers here to pugnacity

II. II. 75 *Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. III. IV. (57, a) "Come, good my lord, and let us haste from hence" (Note "from hence" several times in *Henry VI*) In Q.

II. V. 106. *Shed seas of tears* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. III. II. (55, a). "wept a sea of tears." Not in Q.

II. VI. 35 *Command an argosy to stem the waves* *Tamburlaine,* Part II. I. I. (43, b): "Beating in heaps against their argosies" Not in Q.

## ACT III.

III. i. 38 *Her tears will pierce into a marble heart Tamburlaine,*  
Part I. i. ii. (12, b). "Shall want my heart to be with gladness pierced"  
Not in Q.

III. iii. 229. *my mourning weeds are laid aside. Tamburlaine,* Part  
II. i. i. (43, a): "wear a woful mourning weed" In Q.

## ACT IV.

IV. vi. 75. *Make much of him, my lords. Tamburlaine,* Part I. i. ii.  
(12, b): "Make much of them, gentle Theridamas." In Q.

## ACT V.

v. iii. i. *Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course Tamburlaine,*  
Part I. ii. i. (13, a) "Thus far are we toward Theridamas." Not in Q.

v. iv. 66. *Here pitch our battle, hence we will not budge. Tambur-*  
*laine,* Part II. iii. i. (54, a): "Our battle then, in martial manner  
pitched . . . shall bear The figure of the semi-circled moon." Marshal-  
ling an army into battle array Not in Q

v. iv. 67. *the thorny wood* (and iii. ii. 174) *Tamburlaine,* Part I.  
iv. i. (25, b). "As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood" (pine wood) In  
Q.

v. vi. 43 *And orphans . . . Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast*  
*born. Tamburlaine,* Part I. iv. iii. (28, b): "Tamburlaine shall rue the  
day, the hour, That ever . . ." Not in Q

There are a few Marlovian expressions, very few, in the  
Quartos not found in the final plays, which occur in *Tambur-*  
*laine*. These occur to my memory:—

"The *fainting* army of that foolish king." *Tamburlaine,* Part I.  
ii. iii. (15, b).

"*faintheart* fugitives" *Tamburlaine,* Part II. v. i. (67, b).

"that coward faintheart runaway" *Tamburlaine,* Part II. iii. ii.  
(56, a).

"thickest throngs" *Tamburlaine,* Part II. iii. ii. (56, a). See Table  
of Continued Expressions

"Come let us go and banquet" *Tamburlaine,* Part II. i. ii. (45, a).  
Not a satisfactory example, but nearly of the "Come let's go" of the  
Quarto. See Table of Continued Expressions.

No doubt there are some of these Quarto parallels over-  
looked, but probably none of much significance. Let us see  
what information the above lists yield. I find them full of  
meaning. But it is interesting to note a few special points  
amongst these illustrations. For example, is there not a  
mocking intention at *2 Henry VI.* ii. i. 162, where whole  
towns are made to fly?—a mocking of Marlowe's absurdity of

## KING HENRY THE SIXTH      xxxvii

making "whole cities caper in the air"?—though of course the reference is to the French towns. And when Cade calls his fellow-rebels "fellow-kings" (2 *Henry VI* IV. ii. 163), an expression twice in *Tamburlaine*, has not Shakespeare again "a kindly gird"? And in the reference to the kingdoms of the Turk in 1 *Henry VI*. IV. vii. 72, does not the expression "Here is a silly-stately style indeed" sum up in a few admirably chosen words his judgment upon Marlovian rhodomontade in *Tamburlaine*? Sometimes, again, a simile is borrowed, found steeped in nonsense and transformed into a happy figure, as in the "porpentine" in 2 *Henry VI*. III. i. 363. It is ridiculous to blame a timid lad with hair as soft as down for not having it like the quills of a porcupine, as a ferocious young son of Mars should have. But the use in Shakespeare (wholly transfigured) forms a very vivid and not too extravagant picture.

For I believe Shakespeare helped himself to all these passages from *Tamburlaine*. As soon as a play was a success, the language seems to have become known by rote and common property amongst the dramatists, stored in the cask of memory, to be turned on tap at will. Not every one, however, had Shakespeare's memory, or his skill in adapting its stores. There is no other way out of the dilemma. These scraps of Marlowe continually occur where it is obvious Marlowe had no hand whatever, and they are often used with a different sense and in a context that is purely Shakespearian.

Possibly these turns of language have led the critics sometimes to attribute the authorship to Marlowe in places. But it is a wholly fallacious reasoning. There was no reproach in such usage. All of them did it. But as no one succeeded as Shakespeare did, it seems more noticeable in him. To Greene, a dramatic failure, this lent a weapon of abuse. In Greene's jaundiced and green-eyed orb of jealousy, these are the feathers Shakespeare beautified himself with, and the plumes he purloined. There were others, but these sufficed for his attack.

In Part I the parallels tell their own tale. Several of them ("timeless death," "play the orator") were thought so well of that Shakespeare drove them through the whole trilogy, as my Table of Continued Expressions will exhibit. But with few

exceptions they become moribund, or nearly so, they faint, in Shakespeare's later work, after the famous attack in 1592—after Greene's death

In the second Part an interesting discovery discloses itself. Not a single one of my selected expressions common to *Tamburlaine* and *2 Henry VI* is found in *The First Contention* (Q). This is quite parallel to the evidence derived already from Spenser's and Kyd's (*Spanish Tragedy*) parallels, and points to the early date of *The Contention* (first part). Not that I believe it to have preceded Marlowe's great play—that puts it out of Shakespeare's reach and period altogether, and I maintain he had a considerable hand in it—but Shakespeare had not learnt or studied that play as he must have done before he finished *1 Henry VI*. It puts *The Contention* into its proper place of first in the series and preceding *1 Henry VI* and its own legitimate offspring *2 Henry VI*. by some considerable term—one or two years for the former—during which time Shakespeare set to work in earnest at self-improvement in dramatic writing and devoured all he could lay hands upon.

Probably his share in *The Contention* (first part) is the very earliest effort we have by Shakespeare.

The expressions quoted from Part III. are of no special significance, excepting that a few of them are unmistakable echoes. They are more often than not in *The True Tragedy* (Q), as must needs be the case, these plays (*3 Henry VI* and *True Tragedy*) being more closely identical. The writing of the third Part agreed in point of time with that of its predecessor much more nearly than did *2 Henry VI* with its foundation play, which two are separated by a considerable interval.

I have already given reasons for not going further into Marlowe's parallelisms. There are several in my notes, down to the very end. Even in the last scene of *3 Henry VI*. occurs a line ("And made our footstool of security") that closely resembles one in *The Massacre at Paris*. The passage reads to me like a thought developed into Shakespeare's use, although the dates if anything point the other way. The parallels from *Edward II.* have been noticed in Introduction to Part II; and I am not particular as to which way the pendulum of originality swings, but I may quote Dyce. He says "Mr. Collier, who regards it [*Edward II.*] (and no doubt, rightly) as



## KING HENRY THE SIXTH      xxxix

one of our author's latest pieces, has not attempted to fix its date." But that should be 1592 or 1593. See also the passage from the *Jew of Malta* (Act III), "These arms . . . shall be thy sepulchre," quoted in *3 Henry VI* II v 114.

There is one argument to be adduced here in this connection. When Marlowe saw Shakespeare helping himself to phrases from *Tamburlaine*, would he not feel fully entitled to culc a few from Shakespeare in return, if they suited him, for his *Edward II*, on the principle of give and take which was generally adopted? And I think he did, for he has other expressions in *Edward II*, such as "undaunted spirit," from *1 Henry VI*, undoubtedly earlier. This is a view that favours the lateness of *Edward II*, and it can be broadened considerably. Some of the well-known Marlovian lines in *2 Henry VI* are in the *First Contention*, the Q of that play; it is not reasonable to suppose *Edward II* can have preceded that Quarto, therefore the assumption would be that Marlowe wrote those parts of *The Contention* from which he drew expressions in *Edward II*. But it would be easy to furnish a little collection of *1 Henry VI* expressions in *Edward II*, which are most likely borrowed in the latter from Shakespeare—Marlowe not having had, I think, anything to do with *1 Henry VI*. And for that matter his share in *The Contention* is doubtful, certainly unimportant.

The whole series of *Henry VI* may have been evolved as follows. Greene, Peele and Marlowe selected, or were allotted, the *Henry VI* period to dramatise. They divided it roughly (as Cæsar did all Gaul) into three parts. Greene was in command of the wars of France and the death of that brave Talbot, the terror of the French, together with the exploits of Joan the Pucelle and the loss of the towns, and his part would have some such title.

Peele was chief of *The First Part of the Contention*, and with the others completed it. In doing so he received much help from the rising dramatist, Shakespeare.

Marlowe had charge of *The True Tragedy*. Shakespeare's success in the assistance he gave Peele, but especially in the completion of *1 Henry VI*, acquired for him a yet larger share in this play.

Meanwhile Greene had failed in his share. Either he

found it uncongenial, or his platform was rejected, or his failure in other dramas at this juncture rendered him unacceptable, and he withdrew. Shakespeare having given satisfaction in his aid to *The First Contention* was entrusted with the sketch in an altogether chaotic and unfinished state, for completion. And his work was so well approved and of such high promise, that it justified the expansion into the full-sized play of *Henry VI.* And as a natural sequence, owing to its immediate and triumphant success, the others were handed over to him for expansion into Parts II. and III. All the time he was on friendly terms with the others, except perhaps Greene, getting "wrinkles" and "tips" from his seniors, especially Peele, from time to time if required. Such collaboration would always occur amongst fellow-workers, leaving an impression of unity. Perhaps I may quote the words here of a well-known living actor and playwright as to the methods employed—

"How was it you collaborated with them? I would tell them that such and such a situation was not effective, and must be brought about in a different way. The balancing of the parts was not equal, and there was insufficient comedy, and although I never wrote a word of the play I would occasionally take hold of a certain speech and say that it would not 'speak' well, and would have no effect. I would suggest the addition of words, or say that the speech 'worked in this way' would be effective, that is to say, it would get, what we actors always want, a round of applause"—*The Daily Telegraph*, 18th March, 1908.

This is "parvis componere magna," but the positions and the practice at the final production of a play must be ever alike.

Enough has been said upon the development of the leading characters, Margaret and Henry, in various connections in my notes and Introduction. But there is one curious point in connection with Gloucester (the earlier Richard, son of York, afterwards King Richard III.) that I have never seen noticed, and for which I have no explanation to offer. For some reason or other Gloucester's characteristic talent, or affectation, or mannerism is that of proverb-making. It is no compliment to the lovers of old said saws. Grafton (*Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 548) says: "He had a sharpe and preg-

naunt witt, subtile, and to dissimule and fayne verie mete"; but I find no allusion to this trait in him. It was no new stage attraction and continued in favour. Lyly set the fashion in *Mother Bombie*, where Silena "raked together all the odd blind phrases that help them that know not how to discourse." Later Shakespeare and Ben Jonson respectively give us Touchstone and Downright (who are leading characters), and are supposed to beautify and enhance the value of their representations by the same device. It was becoming the vogue and it remained so for a couple of centuries—sometimes courtly—sometimes scholarly—but continually attractive and required by the audiences. The Prince says of Gloucester—

"Let Aesop fable in a winter's night,  
His currish riddles sort not with this place" (v v 25-26)

Gloucester has just used a common proverb. He doesn't begin in his earlier period, but once he is made Duke of Gloucester the humour develops. He gives "a nine days' wonder" at III. i. 112, and a little earlier (50) "much rain wears the marble" appears. In IV. i. 83 he hears little, says not much, and thinks the more. At IV. vii. 25 he has a fox proverb "I have not traced, and in the first scene of Act V, "strike while the iron is hot," is his, immediately after a card saying. Later, V. vi. 111-112, an often-quoted distich on the thief, the bush and suspicion of an "officer," is his.

Was this a stage tradition? Has it anything to do with Burbage's acting the part of Richard III.? It is a sort of speciality that might be allotted to a favourite actor with a predilection that way. Burbage was a favourite as early as 1588, and Richard III. was one of his great parts. Halliwell conjectured that Henry calls Gloucester (or Richard III.) Roscius at V. vi. 10, because he took the part.

However it arose the characteristic is continued, and it is to be noted the adages used are such as were familiar and older than Shakespeare's time. In *Richard III.*, Gloucester gives "Jack became a gentleman" (I. iii. 72), "eyes drop millstones" (I. iii. 354), he boasts of his trick at I. iii. 337 and III. i. 82-83: "ill weeds grow apace" (III. i. 103); the maid's part, "say nay and take it" (III. vii. 51), "so wise, so young, never lives long" (III. i. 79). After his elevation to the throne

he is more dignified. Besides these he is several times credited with proverbs by other speakers in both plays.

Lastly, there is the old *True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (reprinted in Shaks Library, Hazlitt) which probably preceded *Richard III*, and is a poor production, but appears to have been remembered by Shakespeare. In it Richard goes at proverbs at once, as "to find a knot in a rush" (67), "a bone to gnaw upon" (67); "ill jesting with edge tools" and "strike while iron is hot" and "if my neighbour's house be on fire let me seek to save my own" (68). And more of them later, pp. 76, 86, 116, etc.

I think the point is interesting. Is there any other chief character in Shakespeare deliberately made a proverb-monger?—one in a dignified position, I mean. Dr Johnson suggested that Gloucester was called Aesop in the quoted lines "on account of his crookedness," but I think he misinterpreted the passage, and there is a further point in the gibe.

I have just found a character—Nicholas Proverbs in Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (see Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. vii)—which may have brought the device in question into special favour at the time the character of Richard was in hand. The play can be shown to bear a sufficiently early date by a quotation from R. Harvey's *Plaine Percevall* (1589), a quotation showing its popularity on the stage and therefore the inherent likelihood of its yielding a suggestion. The passage is on p. 16 of the reprint in *The Marprelate Controversy* (J. Petheram, 1847): "yet I will nicke name no bodie. I am none of these traft mockado mak-a-dooes. for 'Qui mochat, moccabitur' quoth the servingman of Abingdon." This tract is of date 1589. On page 301 of the play, Nicholas Proverbs, the servingman, says "it seems to me that you, Master Philip, mock me. do you not know, qui mocat moccabitur? mock age, and see how it will prosper." This date for this play, full of interesting references and matter, is very useful. No doubt it has been noted but I have not seen it. The earliest reference in Henslowe (to a continuation of the play, "the 2 pte of the 2 angrey wemen of abengton") dates 1598: 1599 is the date of the earliest known edition. Compare a passage in it (p. 275) with 3 *Henry VI* v. v. 25: "Well, mistress, well, I have read Aesop's fables, And know your moral meaning well enough."

# KING HENRY THE SIXTH xliii

## REAPPEARING PASSAGES

Continuity of authorship evidence · or expressions characteristic of these five plays but not in Shakespeare's later work Found here in two or more of the plays, two not including a pair of either *First Contention* and *2 Henry VI*, or *True Tragedy* and *3 Henry VI*, since in these cases they form a single reference. The references to *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* are to the parts of the final plays where these passages appear in collation. Uncommon, or otherwise unknown, expressions (at this date) alone are selected

- thread of life* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 34; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ii. 31  
*fight it out* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 99, i. ii. 128, iii. ii. 66, *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 117, i. iv. 10 (varied from *True Tragedy*) And in *Titus Andronicus*, v. iii. 102, "fought Rome's quarrel out".  
*Undaunted spirit* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 127, iii. ii. 99, v. v. 70  
*eyes more dazzled . . as piercing as . . the mid-day sun* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 12-14; 3 *Henry VI.* v. ii. 17  
*to buckle with* 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 95, iv. iv. 5, v. iii. 28, *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 50  
*replete with* 1 *Henry VI.* i. i. 12, i. vi. 15, v. v. 17, 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 20; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* iii. ii. 84, *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* iv. vi. 70) And *Love's Labour's Lost*  
*proud insulting* 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 138; *True Tragedy* (twice), 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 168, ii. ii. 84  
*parching heat* 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 77, 2 *Henry VI.* i. i. 79.  
*heart-blood* 1 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 83, *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 66, 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 223; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 79-80). And *Richard II.* (three times)  
*last gasp, latter gasp, latest gasp.* 1 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 126, ii. v. 38; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 108, v. ii. 41. *Last gasp* is in *Cymbeline*, i. v. 53  
*gather head* 1 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 100, *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* iv. v. 10 And *Titus Andronicus*  
*When I am dead and gone* 1 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 93; *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 37 "Dead and gone," ballad-scrap, *Hamlet*  
*hungry-(hunger)-starved* 1 *Henry VI.* i. v. 16, 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 5.  
*bells . . and bonfires* 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 11-12, *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* v. i. 3  
*win the day* 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 17; 3 *Henry VI.* iv. iv. 15. And *Richard III*  
*in procession sing . . praise and Solemne processions sung* In *laud* 1 *Henry VI.* i. vi. 20, *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ix. 23-24)  
*for every drop of blood . . five lives, more lives than drops of blood* 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 8, *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. i. 97 And *Troilus and Cressida*  
*troops of armed men* 1 *Henry VI.* ii. ii. 24, *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 314)

- perceive (my) mind.* 1 Henry VI. II. II. 59; 2 Henry VI. III. 1. 374
- realm of France.* 1 Henry VI. II. II. 36, IV. I. 147, IV. VII. 71, 82, V. IV. 112; 2 Henry VI. I. III. 160; *Contention* (at I. III. 160 and 211). And twice in Henry V
- fill the world with.* 1 Henry VI. II. II. 43, V. IV. 35; *True Tragedy*; 3 Henry VI. V. V. 44
- give censure* 1 Henry VI. II. III. 10; 2 Henry VI. I. III. 120 And Richard III
- White rose dyed in bloody red . . . in lukewarm blood* 1 Henry VI. II. IV. 61, 3 Henry VI. I. II. 33-34 (Compare 2 Henry VI. II. II. 65-66, and *Contention*.)
- Shallow judgment (or spirit of judgment)* 1 Henry VI. I. IV. 16; 3 Henry VI. IV. I. 62
- red rose and the white A thousand souls to death and red rose and the white. a thousand loves must wither.* 1 Henry VI. II. IV. 126-127; 3 Henry VI. II. V. 97-102
- book of memory.* 1 Henry VI. II. IV. 101, 2 Henry VI. I. I. 100.
- Out of hand* 1 Henry VI. III. II. 102; 3 Henry VI. IV. VII. 63. And in 2 Henry IV. and *Titus Andronicus*.
- blood-drinking (or consuming) sighs, hate.* 1 Henry VI. II. IV. 108 (b d h); 2 Henry VI. III. II. 61 (b. c s.), III. II. 63 (b. d. s.) (In *Titus Andronicus* "blood-drinking pit" occurs, literal meaning); *blood-sucking sighs* 3 Henry VI. IV. IV. 22
- choked with ambition.* 1 Henry VI. II. IV. 112, II. V. 123; 2 Henry VI. III. I. 143
- lavish tongue* 1 Henry VI. II. V. 47, *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. IV. 1. 64) [*Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. I. 1. 24) "lavish of my tongue" ]
- I girt thee with the sword* 1 Henry VI. III. I. 171, *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. I. I. 65
- lordly (to people, contemptuously)* 1 Henry VI. III. I. 43, III. III. 62, V. III. 6; 2 Henry VI. I. I. 11; *Contention*, II. I. 30. And *Lucrece* (in good sense)
- run a tilt* 1 Henry VI. III. II. 51; *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. I. III. 54
- twist one with cowardice . . . perjury* 1 Henry VI. III. II. 55; *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. III. I. 178, varied in transition); 3 Henry VI. V. V. 40 And (with falsehood) *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.
- late-betrayed, late-deceased* 1 Henry VI. III. II. 82, 132; the latter in *Titus Andronicus* And *late-disturbed, late-embarked* occur 1 Henry IV., *Venus and Adonis*.
- care is . . . corrosive, parting be a . . . corrosive.* 1 Henry VI. III. III. 3, 2 Henry VI. III. II. 403.
- with sugared words* 1 Henry VI. III. III. 16; 2 Henry VI. III. II. 45. And Richard III.
- with colours spread.* 1 Henry VI. III. III. 31, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. I. I. 91
- slaughter-man* 1 Henry VI. III. III. 75; 3 Henry VI. I. IV. 169. And *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry V.* and *Cymbeline*.

*dearest blood.* 1 Henry VI. iii. iv. 40; 3 Henry VI. v. 1. 69, (*dearest heart-blood*), 3 Henry VI. i. 1. 223

*broach blood* 1 Henry VI. iii. iv. 40; 2 Henry VI. iv. x. 40; 3 Henry VI. ii. iii. 15-16.

*take exceptions at, or to* 1 Henry VI. iv. 1. 105; 3 Henry VI. iii. ii. 46. And *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (twice)

*presumptuous* (of persons). 1 Henry VI. iii. 1. 8, iv. 1. 125, 2 Henry VI. i. ii. 42; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. i. 1. 157.

*play the orator.* 1 Henry VI. iv. 1. 175; 3 Henry VI. i. ii. 2 (and *True Tragedy*), ii. ii. 43 (and *True Tragedy*), iii. ii. 188. And in *Richard III.*

*timeless death* 1 Henry VI. v. iv. 5; 2 Henry VI. iii. ii. 187; 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 42. And *Richard III.*

*God and Saint George.* 1 Henry VI. iv. ii. 55; 3 Henry VI. ii. 1. 204; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. iv. ii. 29. And *Richard III.*

*malignant stars.* 1 Henry VI. iv. v. 6; *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. ii. iii. 6).

*well I wot* 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 32, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 134, iv. vii. 83, v. iv. 71 (first reference only, for *True Tragedy*) And *Titus Andronicus*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*

*effusion of blood . . . effuse of blood.* 1 Henry VI. v. 1. 9; *True Tragedy* (effuse), 3 Henry VI. ii. vi. 28

*muckle age.* 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 35; 2 Henry VI. v. 1. 174.

*Marry, and shall* 2 Henry VI. i. ii. 88; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. v. v. 42. And in 1 Henry IV and *Richard III.*

*Thou Icarus . . . my Icarus . . . my poor boy Icarus* 1 Henry VI. iv. vi. 55, iv. vii. 16; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. v. vi. 21

*the woman wears the breeches* (varied). 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 145; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. v. v. 23.

*from ashes . . . rear'd a phoenix . . . ashes . . . bring forth . . . phoenix.* 1 Henry VI. iv. vii. 93; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. i. iv. 35. And *Henry VIII.*

*stand on a . . . point.* 2 Henry VI. i. 1. 216; *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. iv. viii. 27, "upon"), 3 Henry VI. iv. vii. 58. And *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

*sumptuous.* 1 Henry VI. v. 1. 20, 2 Henry VI. i. iii. 133, iv. vii. 100 And 1 Henry IV. "Sumptuously" is in *Titus Andronicus* And *Henry VIII.*

*at my depart* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI. i. 1. 2, 3 Henry VI. iv. 1. 92 And *Two Gentlemen of Verona*

*installed in or into* (a state), or shortly installed. 1 Henry VI. ii. v. 89, iv. 1. 17, v. 1. 28; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. iii. i. 46 And *Henry VIII*

*dims mine eyes . . . dimmed eyes (with tears) . . . eyes dimmed.* 2 Henry VI. i. i. 54; *Contention*, 2 Henry VI. iii. 1. 218; 3 Henry VI. v. ii. 16 ("and eyes wax dim," 1 Henry VI.).

*force perforce* *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. i. 1. 256, *True Tragedy* (at 3 Henry VI. ii. iii. 5). And *King John.*

*knt one's brows.* 2 Henry VI. i. ii. 3, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. ii. ii. 20. And in *Lucrece.*

*fallen at jars, live at jar, at a jar.* *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* i. 1. 251; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. viii. 41, *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* i. ii. 4).

*come let's go* *Contention* (end of ii. 11., 2 *Henry VI.*), (end of ii. iv.); (iii. 1. 330); (end of iv. 1.), *True Tragedy*, at end of i. ii. 3 *Henry VI.*, and at v. iii. 20.

*number Ave Maries* . . . *his beads.* 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 55; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 1. 162

*base-born* . . . *callat* 2 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 82; 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 11 143, 145, *base-born* (again) 2 *Henry VI.* iv. viii. 47. Not in Q.

*sorrows tears* . . . *griped* . . . *heart, sorrow gripes* . . . *soul* *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 15); 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 171 ("anger" in *True Tragedy*)

*coal-black* *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* v. i. 68-71); 2 *Henry VI.* ii. 1 112, 3 *Henry VI.* v. 1. 54. And in *Richard II.* and in *Titus Andronicus* (3 times)

*thrust from the crown* . . . *thrust from his home* 2 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 94; *True Tragedy* (at iii. iii. 190)

*big-swoln venom* . . . *of heart, execution of big-swoln heart* *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* i. 1 135), 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 11 111. Used in *Titus Andronicus* of a swollen sea, literally.

*take my death* 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 88, *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. iii. 35

*downright blow.* *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 90; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. 1. 12.

*Now or never* 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 331; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* iv. iii. 24

*hand to hand* *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iv. x. 50); 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 1. 73, ii. v. 56, *True Tragedy* (at v. iv. 46) And in 1 *Henry IV.*

*pangs of death* (actual death) *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* iii. iii. 24, 3 *Henry VI.* ii. iii. 17; *True Tragedy* (at v. ii. 41). And *King John* and *Twelfth Night*.

*steel thy thoughts.* 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 331; *True Tragedy* (at 3 *Henry VI.* ii. 11 41) ("steel the heart" occurs often and later)

*you that love me* . . . *are the friends of* . . . *follow me* 2 *Henry VI.* iv. ii. 180; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 123, iv. vii. 39. And *Richard III.*

*shook hands with death.* *Contention* (at 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 252); *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 102.

*bloody-minded* *Contention*, 2 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 36; *True Tragedy*, 3 *Henry VI.* ii. vi. 33.

*curs* . . . *grin.* 2 *Henry VI.* iii. i. 18; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* i. iv. 56.

*golden circuit* . . . *crown within whose circuit.* 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 1. 352; 3 *Henry VI.* i. 11. 30.

*Done to death.* 2 *Henry VI.* iii. 11 244; *Contention*, 3 *Henry VI.* ii. i. 103; *True Tragedy*; 3 *Henry VI.* iii. iii. 103. And in *Much Ado About Nothing*

*Kent* . . . *civillest place, Kent* . . . *civillest place* . . . *people valiant, liberal, active, wealthy, Kentishmen* . . . *witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit.* *Contention*; 2 *Henry VI.* iv. vii. 60-63; 3 *Henry VI.* i. 11. 41-43.



# KING HENRY THE SIXTH xlvii

*Oft have I heard that.* . 2 Henry VI iv iv. 1, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI ii 1. 149 And *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard III*, *Titus Andronicus* (*Oft have you heard*)

*charm your tongue.* 2 Henry VI iv 1 64, 3 Henry VI v v 31. And *Taming of the Shrew* and *Othello*

*lizards' stings* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI. iii. ii 325; 3 Henry VI ii. ii 138

*deathsmen* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI iii ii. 217; 3 Henry VI v. v 67 And *King Lear* and *Lucrece*

*Off with his head.* *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI iv. 1 139); *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI i iv 179; *True Tragedy*, i iv 107, ii vi. 85, and several times in *Richard III*.

*the lyingest knave . . the bluntest wooer in Christendom.* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI ii 1 124, 125, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI iii ii 83 And in *Taming of the Shrew* (twice)

*foul stigmatic, foul misshapen stigmatic.* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI v 1 215; *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. ii. ii 136

*seek out . . single out* *Some other chase, For I myself will hunt this deer . . . wolf . . to death* *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. v ii. 14, 15, 3 Henry VI ii. iv 11, 12.

*sound drums and trumpets* *Contention*, 2 Henry VI. v. iii 32, 3 Henry VI. i. 1 118, *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI v. vii. 45 And in *Richard III*.

*stand . . stay . . not to expostulate . . let's go* *make speed.* *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI v. ii 72), *True Tragedy*, 3 Henry VI. ii v. 135. And in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*

*thickest throng* *Contention* (at 2 Henry VI. v iii 11); *True Tragedy* (at ii iii 16), at v. iv 49 in plural in *True Tragedy* Always of fighters.

*slaughter-house* 2 Henry VI iii. 1 212, *Contention*; 2 Henry VI. iv. iii. 5; 3 Henry VI v. iv 78. And in *Lucrece*, *King John*, and *Richard III*.



THE THIRD PART OF  
KING HENRY THE SIXTH

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING HENRY THE SIXTH  
 EDWARD, *Prince of Wales, his Son*  
 LEWIS THE ELEVENTH, *King of France*  
 DUKE OF SOMERSET,  
 DUKE OF EXETER,  
 EARL OF OXFORD,  
 EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,  
 EARL OF WESTMORELAND,  
 LORD CLIFFORD,

} *on King Henry's side.*

RICHARD PLANTAGENET, *Duke of York.*  
 EDWARD, *Earl of March, afterwards*  
           *King Edward the Fourth,*  
 EDMUND, *Earl of Rutland,*  
 GEORGE, *afterwards Duke of Clarence,*  
 RICHARD, *afterwards Duke of Gloucester,*

} *his Sons*

DUKE OF NORFOLK,  
 MARQUESS OF MONTAGUE,  
 EARL OF WARWICK,  
 EARL OF PEMBROKE,  
 LORD HASTINGS,  
 LORD STAFFORD,

} *of the Duke of York's Party*

SIR JOHN MORTIMER,  
 SIR HUGH MORTIMER,

} *uncles to the Duke of York.*

HENRY, *Earl of Richmond, a Youth*  
 LORD RIVERS, *brother to Lady Grey.*  
 SIR WILLIAM STANLEY  
 SIR JOHN MONTGOMERY.  
 SIR JOHN SOMERVILLE  
*Tutor to Rutland.*  
*Mayor of York*  
*Lieutenant of the Tower*  
*A Nobleman*  
*Two Keepers*  
*A Huntsman*  
*A Son that has killed his father.*  
*A Father that has killed his son*  
 QUEEN MARGARET  
 LADY GREY, *afterwards Queen to Edward the Fourth*  
 BONA, *Sister to the French Queen*

*Soldiers, Attendants, Messengers, Watch en, etc.*

SCENE *During part of the Third Act, in France, during the rest of the Play, in England.*

# THE THIRD PART OF KING HENRY THE SIXTH

## ACT I

### SCENE I—*London The Parliament House*

*Alarum. Enter the DUKE OF YORK, EDWARD, RICHARD,  
NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers*

*War.* I wonder how the king escaped our hands

*York.* While we pursued the horsemen of the north,

He slyly stole away and left his men ·

Whereat the great Lord of Northumberland,

Whose war-like ears could never brook retreat, 5

Cheer'd up the drooping army; and himself,

Lord Clifford, and Lord Stafford, all abreast,

Charged our main battle's front, and breaking in

*Alarum. Enter the Duke of York . . . ] Alarum Enter Plantagenet . . . Ff.  
and Soldiers] and Souldiers, with white Roses in their hats Q [Other dif-  
ferences occur in Folio and Quarto stage-direction] 1-5 War I wonder  
. . . retreat] 1-5. War I wonder . . . retreat Q 6 Cheer'd himself]  
omitted Q 7 Lord Clifford . . . Stafford . . . abreast] 6 Lord Stafford  
. . . Clifford . . . abreast Q 8 Charged . . . in] 7 Charge . . . front,  
and therewith him Q*

1 I wonder . . . ] See first line of  
Act II

5 brook] put up with Character-  
istic of these three plays, where it  
occurs about a dozen times; elsewhere  
almost confined to Shakespeare's early  
work. Frequent in Greene's plays

5. retreat] Used here with reference  
to the bugle call or sounding of retreat  
See note at "sound retreat" (2 Henry  
VI. iv. viii 4), which expression occurs  
again in 1 Henry IV and in Henry V  
Hence the appropriate use of "warlike  
ears," "retreat" signifying the sound-

ing Peele gives us the old spelling (as  
in Q) in *The Honour of the Garter* (589,  
b, Dyce, 1874) —

"And by and by a loud *retraite* he  
rung

The train retired"

See Grafton, 1 518, quoted at  
"Ascribes the glory to God" (Henry  
VI iii. iv 10-12)

8 main battle] Again in *Richard  
III* v iii. 299 This is the earliest  
example in *New Eng Dict* It is  
earlier in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*,  
iv. 1 —

Were by the swords of common soldiers slain.

*Edw* Lord Stafford's father, Duke of Buckingham, 10

Is either slain or wounded dangerous,  
I cleft his beaver with a downright blow  
That this is true, father, behold his blood.

*Mont* And, brother, here's the Earl of Wiltshire's blood,  
Whom I encounter'd as the battles join'd 15

*Rich.* Speak thou for me, and tell them what I did  
[*Throwing down the Duke of Somerset's head.*

*York* Richard hath best deserved of all my sons  
But is your grace dead, my Lord of Somerset?

*Norfolk* Such hope have all the line of John of Gaunt!

*Rich* Thus do I hope to shake King Henry's head 20

*War* And so do I Victorious Prince of York,  
Before I see thee seated in that throne  
Which now the house of Lancaster usurps,  
I vow by heaven these eyes shall never close.  
This is the palace of the fearful king, 25

9 *Were . . . slain*] 8. *Brake in and were by the hands of common souldiers slain* Q 10-13. *Lord Stafford's . . . downright blow That this is true, father blood* 9-12. *Lord Staffords . . . downe right blow Father that this is blond Q. 15 battles*] 14. *battailes Q 16 [Throwing down . . . head]* Theobald 17 *Richard . . . sons*] omitted Q 18 *But is*] 16. *York What is Q 19-26 Such hope . . . the fearful king, And this . . . York*] 17-24. *Such hope that fearefull King, And that . . . Yorke Q*

"ten thousand horse

The main battle of harquebuze on foot,

And twenty thousand horsemen in their troops"

The main body of the army "Main battle" had an earlier sense of important or great fight as compared with skirmishing. So in Greene's *Penelope's Web* (Grosart, v. 165) "invasion either by skirmish, Camizado, or maine battell" It is in Grafton's Chronicle

9. *swords of common soldiers*] See note at 2 *Henry VI* v 11 58 The statement here is an inadvertency (Malone) See below, line 55 and 1 11 5

11 *dangerous*] So Folio The Q gives *dangerouslie*, adopted by Theobald, unnecessarily Shakespeare uses adjectives adverbially very often

12 *beaver*] helmet, as in 1 *Henry IV*. iv 1 104, and *Richard III* v 11 50 Elsewhere in Shakespeare it is the visor of the helmet, as in *Faerie Queene*, II v 6, etc. Fr *bavière*

12 *downright blow*] Only again in 2 *Henry VI* II 111 92, where see note. The expression is in Holland's *Plinie* (1601) "let drive and lay at them either with full down-right or cross-blowes" (bk xv ch 111 p 431, c)

15 *as the battles join'd*] See below, II. 1 121, the only other example in Shakespeare of this old expression for beginning the fight "To join," in the sense of entering on any serious business, is a common northern provincialism. Joined ploughing or reaping, joined at the turf, joined to fight, joined to rain, are usual. Compare Grafton, I 30 "At the length they joynd battaile and met together nere a Ryuer called Stoorre", and again p. 238 See Genesis xiv 8 And see Grosart's Greene, xii 318, *James the Fourth* ("as the Kings are joyning battaile," stage-direction). But taking "battles" to mean troops simplifies the expression. See Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, I 111 60 —

"When both the armies were in battell roynd."

And this the regal seat possess it, York,  
 For this is thine and not King Henry's heirs'.  
*York* Assist me then, sweet Warwick, and I will,  
 For hither we have broken in by force  
*Norfolk* We'll all assist you; he that flies shall die 30  
*York* Thanks, gentle Norfolk Stay by me, my lords,  
 And, soldiers, stay and lodge by me this night

[*They go up.*]

*War* And when the King comes, offer him no violence,  
 Unless he seek to thrust you out perforce  
*York* The queen this day here holds her parliament, 35  
 But little thinks we shall be of her council  
 By words or blows here let us win our right  
*Rich* Arm'd as we are, let's stay within this house  
*War* The bloody parliament shall this be call'd,  
 Unless Plantagenet, Duke of York, be king, 40  
 And bashful Henry deposed, whose cowardice  
 Hath made us by-words to our enemies  
*York* Then leave me not, my lords, be resolute,  
 I mean to take possession of my right  
*War* Neither the king, nor he that loves him best, 45  
 The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,  
 Dares stir a wing if Warwick shake his bells

27-29. For this . . . hither we have . . . force] 25-27 For this . . . hither  
 are we . . . force Q 30 you, he] 28 thee, and he Q 31, 32 Thanks  
 . . . stay] 29, 30 Thanks . . . stay you here and lodge this night Q 33,  
 34 And when thrust you perforce] 31, 32 And when . . . put us  
 out by force Q 35-37 *York*. The queen right] omitted Q 38 as  
 we are] 33 as we be Q. 39-42 The bloody . . . Henry deposed .  
 enemies] 34-37 The bloudie . . . Henrie be deposde enemies Q. 43-49  
 Then leave . . . be resolute, I mean . . . nor he that . . . proudest he .

26 *regal seat*] This is the expres-  
 sion of Holinshed, not of Hall or  
 Grafton. The latter uses "throne  
 roiale," or "siege royal." It is in  
*Locrine*, "True Honour in her regale  
 seat" (495, b, ed Tyrrell)

32 *lodge*] lie, sleep. See 2 *Henry*  
*VI*. i. 1. 80, and below, iv. iii. 13

41 *And . . . cowardice*] "Henry"  
 must be allowed three syllables here  
 with the accent on the last, and  
 "cowardice" with two final unaccented  
 syllables—for scansion

42 *by-words*] objects of reproach  
 and derision, as in Deuteronomy xxviii  
 37, and Psalms xlv. 14

46 *The proudest he*] Occurs again in  
*Taming of Shrew*, iii. ii. 236, and

*Henry VIII* v. iii. 130. See note at  
 "the proudest of you all" (*1 Henry VI*  
 iv. vii. 84). Peele used it earlier in  
*Edward I* —

"Follow pursue! spare not the  
 proudest he

That havocks England's sacred  
 royalty"

(Dyce, 406, a, 1874). And Greene,  
*James the Fourth* (Grosart, xiii. 233) —

"her virtues may compare

With the proudest she that waits  
 upon your Queen."

Halliwell thinks "bird" of the Quarto  
 carries out the metaphor better. So  
 it does, but it is far tamer

47 *if Warwick shake his bells*] A  
 metaphor from falconry, a favourite

I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares.  
Resolve thee, Richard: claim the English crown

*Flourish.* Enter King HENRY, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBER-  
LAND, WESTMORELAND, EXETER, and the rest

*K. Hen* My lords, look where the sturdy rebel sits, 50  
Even in the chair of state<sup>1</sup> belike he means,  
Back'd by the power of Warwick, that false peer,  
To aspire unto the crown and reign as king  
Earl of Northumberland, he slew thy father,  
And thine, Lord Clifford, and you both have vow'd 55  
revenge

On him, his sons, his favourites, and his friends

*North.* If I be not, heavens be revenged on me<sup>1</sup>

*Clif* The hope thereof makes Clifford mourn in steel

*West.* What<sup>1</sup> shall we suffer this? let's pluck him down

My heart for anger burns I cannot brook it. 60

*K. Hen* Be patient, gentle Earl of Westmoreland.

*Clif* Patience is for poltroons, such as he<sup>1</sup>

He durst not sit there had your father liv'd

My gracious lord, here in the parliament

Let us assail the family of York 65

*root him up . . . crown*] 38-44. *Then leave . . . for now I meane . . . nor him*  
*that . . . proudest burd . . . root him out . . . crowne Q* 49 *Flourish.*  
F 1, omitted Ff 2, 3, 4, Q Enter and the rest ] Ff, Enter [some-  
what varied] . . . with red Roses in their hats Q 50 My lords, look] 45.  
*Looke Lordings Q* 50-56. *where the sturdy . . . thine, Lord Clifford . . .*  
*friends*] 45-51. *where the sturdy . . . thine Clifford friends Q* 57. *If*  
*I be*] 52 *And if I be Q* 57-60 *heavens be . . . pluck him . . . burns I*  
*cannot brook it*] 52-55 *heavens be . . . Pull him . . . breakes, I cannot speake Q.*  
61-66. *K. Hen. Be patient . . . be it so*] 56-61 *King. Be patient . . . be it so Q.*

source with Shakespeare See *Othello*,  
III. iii 261-3 (in this edition, notes),  
and *As You Like It*, III. iii. 89 Com-  
pare *Lucrece*, 510, 511 —

"Harmless Lucretia, marking what  
he tells

With trembling fear, as fowl hear  
falcon's bells."

The bell was attached above the foot.  
So in Greene's *Tullies Love* (Grosart,  
vii 116) "Lentulus, willing to make  
fight at the foule, and yet not to have  
a bel at his heele, answered thus"

50. *lords*] *lordings* in Q, see note at  
Part II. i i 143 Shakespeare dis-  
cards this word, later, entirely.

50 *sturdy*] Only again in *Venus*  
and *Adonis*, 152, of trees, strong, stout.  
Here it has the bad sense of Spenser's  
*Faerie Queene*, II. vii. 40 —

"therein did wayt

A *sturdy* villain, stryding stiffe  
and bold."

Greene was fond of the word. Com-  
pare this speech with the King's in  
*2 Henry VI* v i 161-174. Backbone  
is being put into his construction, but  
uselessly, line 72

51 *belike*] as it seems, probably.  
No one so fond of this word as Shake-  
speare, it occurs half-a-dozen times  
in this play For the original form,  
"by like," see note at "safeguard,"  
below, II. ii. 18

58 *mourn in steel*] Compare "why  
mourn we not in blood" (*1 Henry VI.*  
i i. 17)

62. *poltroon*] lazy coward Only  
here in Shakespeare Capell inserts  
"and" (F 2) before "such."



*North* Well hast thou spoken, cousin be it so  
*K Hen* Ah, know you not the city favours them,  
 And they have troops of soldiers at their beck?  
*Exe* But when the duke is slain they'll quickly fly  
*K Hen* Far be the thought of this from Henry's heart, 70  
 To make a shambles of the parliament-house!  
 Cousin of Exeter, frowns, words and threats,  
 Shall be the war that Henry means to use.  
 Thou factious Duke of York, descend my throne,  
 And kneel for grace and mercy at my feet; 75  
 I am thy sovereign  
*York* I am thine.  
*Exe* For shame, come down he made thee Duke of York  
*York* It was my inheritance, as the earldom was  
*Exe* Thy father was a traitor to the crown.  
*War.* Exeter, thou art a traitor to the crown 80  
 In following this usurping Henry  
*Clif.* Whom should he follow but his natural king?  
*War* True, Clifford and that's Richard, Duke of York.  
*K Hen* And shall I stand, and thou sit in my throne?  
*York* It must and shall be so content thyself. 85  
*War.* Be Duke of Lancaster: let him be king

67-69. *K Hen Ah, know you . . . quickly fly* 62-64 *King O know you quickly fly* Q. 70-74 *Far be . . . from Henry's heart . . . frowns, words . . . the war . . . my throne* 65-69. *Far be it from the thoughts of Henries heart . . . words, frowns, . . . the warres my throne* Q. 75 *And feet* omitted Q. 76 *I am . . . thine* 70, 71 *I am thy sovereign* *York.* *Thou art deceiv'd I am thine* Q. 77, 78 *For shame . . . earldom was* 72, 73 *For shame . . . 'Twas mine inheritance as the kingdom is* Q. 79-83 *Thy father . . . that's Richard, Duke of York* 74-78 *Thy father that is Richard Duke of Yorke* [F 1 reads *that's* (omitting *and*)] Q. 84, 85 *And . . . and thou sit . . . It must . . . content thyself* 80, 81 *And . . . while thou sittest . . . Content thyselfe it must so Q.* 86-88 *Be .*

68 *at their beck*] Again in Sonnet 58, *Taming of Shrew*, Ind. II 36, and *Hamlet*, III 1. 127

69 *Exeter*] Folios give this speech erroneously to Westmoreland Corrected by Theobald

71 *shambles*] Again in *Othello*, IV. II 66 The number of butcher metaphors in these plays has been noted in Part II, at "slaughter-house" (III 1 212)

74 *factious*] rebellious Often in these plays, see Part I IV. 1 113, 190, and Part II II 1 39 (note)

74. *descend*] climb down, as of a hill, or a flight of steps, the throne includes the steps to the dais

76. *sovereign. I am thine*] Theobald, followed by Malone and Steevens, inserted "Thou'rt deceived," from Q

78 *It was my inheritance*] If the reading of the Folio is to be altered to that of the Quarto, harmony would demand the whole "'Twas mine inheritance" The alteration of "kingdom" to "earldom" here "only exhibits the same meaning more obscurely" (Malone)

78 *earldom*] the earldom of March, by which, through his mother, he claimed the throne

82 *natural*] rightful

- West* He is both king and Duke of Lancaster,  
And that the Lord of Westmoreland shall maintain
- War.* And Warwick shall disprove it You forget  
That we are those which chased you from the field 90  
And slew your fathers, and with colours spread  
March'd through the city to the palace gates
- North.* Yes, Warwick, I remember it to my grief,  
And, by his soul, thou and thy house shall rue it
- West* Plantagenet, of thee and these thy sons, 95  
Thy kinsmen and thy friends, I'll have more lives  
Than drops of blood were in my father's veins.
- Clif* Urge it no more, lest that, instead of words,  
I send thee, Warwick such a messenger  
As shall revenge his death before I stir 100
- War.* Poor Clifford<sup>1</sup> how I scorn his worthless threats
- York* Will you we show our title to the crown?  
If not, our swords shall plead it in the field.
- K Hen* What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown? 105  
Thy father was, as thou art, Duke of York.  
Thy grandfather, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March  
I am the son of Henry the Fifth,  
Who made the Dauphin and the French to stoop,  
And seized upon their towns and provinces.
- War* Talk not of France, sith thou hast lost it all. 110
- K. Hen* The lord protector lost it, and not I.  
When I was crown'd I was but nine months old.

*He is . . . the Lord . . . maintain*] 82-84 *Be . . . Why? he is . . . the*  
*Earle . . . maintain* Q 89-92 *And Warwick . . . those which chased*  
*. . . fathers . . . palace gates*] 85-88 *And Warwike . . . those that chaste*  
*father . . . palace gates* Q 93, 94. *Yes . . . rue it*] 89, 90 *No . . .*  
*rew it* Q. 95-97 *Plantagenet these thy Than veins*] 91-93.  
*Plantagenet . . . of thy Then . . . vaines* Q 98-100. *Urge it . . .*  
*that, instead of words . . . stir*] 93-95 *Urge it in revenge thereof . . .*  
*stirre* Q. 101-106 *Poor Clifford his worthless . . . Will you . . . If*  
*not . . . Earl of March*] 96-101 *Poor Clifford thy worthless . . . Wil*  
*ye . . . or else . . . earle of March* Q 107-109 *I am . . . Who made . . .*  
*stoop . . . provinces*] 102-104 *I am . . . who tam'd the French, And made the*  
*Dolphin stoop . . . provinces* Q 110-114 *Talk sith . . . usurper's*  
*head*] 105-109 *Talk . . . since . . . Vsurper's head* Q.

91. *colours spread*] So in 1 Henry VI. iii. iii. 31 "There goes the Talbot with his colours spread" And below, II. 251, 252 And Tamburlaine, Part I. iv. 1 (Dyce, 25, a) —  
"The rogue of Volga . . .  
Hath spread his colours to our high disgrace . . ."  
96, 97 *more lives Than drops of blood . . . veins*] Compare 1 Henry VI. ii. ii. 8, and Troilus and Cressida, iv. i. 69 —  
"For every false drop in her bawdy veins  
A Grecian's life hath sunk"  
107 *I am the son*] Johnson says Henry the Fifth's military reputation was the sole support of his son The name dispersed the followers of Cade  
112. *When I was crown'd*] Henry

*Rich.* You are old enough now, and yet, methinks, you lose  
 Father, tear the crown from the usurper's head  
*Edw* Sweet father, do so; set it on your head 115  
*Mont* Good brother, as thou lovest and honourest arms,  
 Let's fight it out and not stand cavilling thus  
*Rich* Sound drums and trumpets, and the king will fly  
*York* Sons, peace!  
*K. Hen* Peace thou! and give King Henry leave to speak 120  
*War.* Plantagenet shall speak first hear him, lords,  
 And be you silent and attentive too,  
 For he that interrupts him shall not live.  
*K Hen* Think'st thou that I will leave my kingly throne,  
 Wherein my grandsire and my father sat? 125  
 No first shall war unpeople this my realm;  
 Ay, and their colours, often borne in France,  
 And now in England to our heart's great sorrow,  
 Shall be my winding-sheet Why faint you, lords?

115 *Sweet . head*] 110 *Do so sweet father, set . head Q.* 116-119  
*Good brother . Sons, peace!*] 111-114 *Good brother Peace sonnes Q*  
 120. *K. Hen Peace thou!* . . . *speake*] 115 *Northum Peace thou . speake Q*  
 121-123 *War Plantagenet shall not live*] omitted *Q* 124 *Think'st*  
*thou . throne*] 116-120 *King. Ah Plantagenet, why seekest thou to depose*  
*me? Are we not both Plantagenets by birth, And from two brothers lineallie*  
*descent? Suppose by right and equitie thou be king, Thinkst thou . seate Q*  
 125-130 *Wherein my grandsire . father their colours title's good*  
*. his*] 121-126. *Wherein my father grandsire our colours .*  
*titles better far than his Q*

was crowned at Westminster, November 6, 1429 See *2 Henry VI* II III 22-24 for the period (1437) when he assumed the responsibility of government. The reference here is to the proclamation of "Prince Henry beyng then about the age of ix Moneths with sounde of Trumpets openly King of England & of Fraunce, the last daye of August, 1422," by his uncles and "the other Lordes of the counsaile" (Grafton, I 549) For his coronation at Paris (at nine months old), see *Richard III* II. III 16, 17  
 118. *lineallie descent*] in *Q* See note below at III III 87.

118. *Sound drums and trumpets*] See again Part II v III 32, and note. And below, v. VII 45, and in *Richard III* Several times in *Lochrine*.

120. *groe . leave to speak*] See *Henry VIII* IV. II 32 And below, I II I (Quarto) This speech is given to Northumberland in *Q*. But it may properly belong to Henry Like

all weak characters, he is petulantly authoritative at times

126 *unpeople this my realm*] So Peele in *David and Bethsabe* (472, b, Dyce, 1874) "Unpeople Rabbah and the streets thereof" See *Antony and Cleopatra*, I v 78. The King, in this whole scene, shows how his vacillations have been carefully attended to. And Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part I III. III (Dyce, 22, a) —

"Let him bring millions infinite of men,

Unpeopling Western Africa and Greece"

129 *winding-sheet*] grave-clothes Not again in Shakespeare, except below, II v 114 Nashe (?) uses it in *An Almond for a Parrot* (ed M'Kerrow, III 362), 1590 "hee will wrappe all your cleargie once agayne in Lazarus winding sheete"

129 *Why faint you*] "why funk you" would be the synonym Shakespeare dropped this use later He has

My title's good, and better far than his. 130  
*War* Prove it, Henry, and thou shalt be king  
*K Hen* Henry the Fourth by conquest got the crown.  
*York.* 'Twas by rebellion against his king  
*K Hen.* [*Aside*] I know not what to say my title's weak  
Tell me, may not a king adopt an heir? 135  
*York* What then?  
*K Hen* An if he may, then am I lawful king;  
For Richard, in the view of many lords,  
Resign'd the crown to Henry the Fourth,  
Whose heir my father was, and I am his. 140  
*York* He rose against him, being his sovereign,  
And made him to resign his crown perforce  
*War* Suppose, my lords, he did it unconstrain'd,  
Think you 'twere prejudicial to his crown?  
*Exe* No, for he could not so resign his crown 145  
But that the next heir should succeed and reign  
*K Hen* Art thou against us, Duke of Exeter?  
*Exe* His is the right, and therefore pardon me.  
*York* Why whisper you, my lords, and answer not?  
*Exe* My conscience tells me he is lawful king 150  
*K Hen.* [*Aside*] All will revolt from me, and turn to him  
*North* Plantagenet, for all the claim thou lay'st,  
Think not that Henry shall be so deposed  
*War* Deposed he shall be in despite of all  
*North.* Thou art deceived 'tis not thy southern power, 155

131-135 Prove it . . . Henry the Fourth . . . against his king . . . an  
heir? 127-131 Prove it . . . Why Henrie the fourth . . . gainst his souveraigne  
. . . an heire? Q 136 York. What then? 132. War What then? Q  
137 An if he may] omitted Q 137-140 then am I For Richard .  
am his] 133-136 Then am I For Richard The second . . . am his Q  
141, 142 He rose his crown perforce] 137, 138 I tell thee he rose .  
the crown perforce Q 143, 144 Suppose, my lords . . . 'twere . . . his  
crown? 139, 140 Suppose my Lord . . . that were . . . the Crowne? Q.  
145, 146 No . . . his crown . . . should . . . resign 141, 142 No . . . the  
Crowne . . . must raigne Q 147, 148. Art thou . . . me] 143, 144  
Art thou . . . Q. 149, 150 York Why whisper . . . Exe. My conscience . . .  
omitted Q 151-154 All will . . . that Henry . . . so deposed of all]  
145-148 All will . . . King Henry . . . thus deposde? . . . of thee Q 155-  
158 Thou art . . . power . . . Kent, Which . . . of me] 149-152 Tush War-  
wike, Thou art . . . powers of Essex, Suffolke, Norffolke, and of Kent that  
. . . of me Q.

it in his poems, in *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *King John*. This sense is noted on in Part III. (*True Tragedy*) at "fainting troops" (last scene), an expression of Marlowe's also. Compare Grafton's

*Continuation of Hardyng*, i. 543 (p 576) "many of Cornyshe men faynted . . . and for feare fled. . . But this Michael Joseph was a man of suche stoute courage & valhauntness that he never fainted or once gave back."

- Of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, nor of Kent,  
Which makes thee thus presumptuous and proud,  
Can set the duke up in despite of me
- Clif* King Henry, be thy title right or wrong,  
Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence: 160  
May that ground gape and swallow me alive,  
Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father!<sup>1</sup>
- K. Hen* O Clifford! how thy words revive my heart.  
*York.* Henry of Lancaster, resign thy crown  
What mutter you, or what conspire you, lords? 165
- War* Do right unto this princely Duke of York,  
Or I will fill the house with armed men,  
And o'er the chair of state, where now he sits,  
Write up his title with usurping blood  
*[He stamps with his foot, and the Soldiers  
show themselves]*
- K Hen* My Lord of Warwick, hear me but one word. 170  
Let me for this my life-time reign as king  
*York* Confirm the crown to me and to mine heirs,  
And thou shalt reign in quiet while thou liv'st
- K. Hen* I am content Richard Plantagenet,  
Enjoy the kingdom after my decease 175

159-162. *Clif. King Henry . . . shall kneel father]* 153-156 *Cliff.*  
*King Henrie . . . do kneale . . . father Q* 163-169 *O Clifford . . . my*  
*heart . . . And o'er the chair . . . usurping blood]* 157-163. *O Clifford . . .*  
*my soule . . . [Enter souldiers] And over the chaire . . . thy usurping blood Q.*  
170, 171 *K Hen My Lord . . . king]* 164, 165 *King O Warwike, heare me*  
*speake Let me but raigne in quiet whilst I live Q* 172-175 *Confirm . . .*  
*thou liv'st. K Hen. I am content . . . decease]* 166-169 *Confirme . . . thou*  
*livest King. Conuey the souldiers hence, and then I will War Captaine*  
*conduct them into Tuthill fieldes Q*

161 *ground gape and swallow me]*  
Compare *Richard III* i. ii. 65 "earth,  
gape open wide and eat him quick."  
Both from Peele perhaps —

"Gape earth and swallow me, and  
let my soul  
Sink down to hell"  
(*Edward I* 408, a) As it comes off in  
*Edward I*, it would be impressive  
Steevens quotes from Phaer's translation  
of the fourth *Æneid* "But rather  
would I wish the ground to gape for  
me below" I have not verified it.  
See in Kyd, *Cornelia* "O earth, why  
op'st thou not?" (bad news) (v.  
39).

162 *slew my father]* See above,  
line 9, and line 55

166 *Do right]* give justice, a very  
frequent phrase of Shakespeare's

166 *princely Duke of York]* the title  
King Henry gives him in Part I iii 1  
173 "And rise created *princely Duke*  
*of York*" For the repetition of  
"princely" in these plays, see note at  
Part I v iii 176

167 *armed men]* See again *I Henry*  
VI ii ii 24

168 *chair of state]* See above, i 1. 51

169 *Tuthill fieldes]* See note at  
"Saint George's field," Part II. v 1  
46

172, 173 *Confirm the crown . . . thou*  
*liv'st]* See extract at iv 1x 28-30 (Part  
II.) for the opening of York's claim,  
and his support by Warwick

*Clif* What wrong is this unto the prince your son !

*War* What good is this to England and himself !

*West* Base, fearful, and despairing Henry !

*Clif*. How hast thou injured both thyself and us !

*West* I cannot stay to hear these articles 180

*North* Nor I

*Clif* Come, cousin, let us tell the queen these news

*West* Farewell, faint-hearted and degenerate king,

In whose cold blood no spark of honour bides

*North* Be thou a prey unto the house of York, 185

And die in bands for this unmanly deed !

*Clif* In dreadful war may'st thou be overcome,

Or live in peace abandon'd and despised !

[*Exeunt North, Clif, and West.*]

*War* Turn this way, Henry, and regard them not

*Exe* They seek revenge and therefore will not yield 190

*K Hen* Ah ! Exeter

*War* Why should you sigh, my lord ?

*K. Hen* Not for myself, Lord Warwick, but my son,

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit

But be it as it may, I here entail

The crown to thee and to thine heirs for ever, 195

176, 177 *What wrong . . . to England himself* ! 170, 171. *What wrong for England and himself* ? Q 178-182 *West Base Henry* !  
*Clif How . . . injured us* ! . articles *North Nor I Clif Come*  
 . 6 *news* ] 172-175 *Northum Base Henry Clif How . . . wronged*  
 . *us* ? . Articles. [*Exit* ] *Clif Nor I. Come cosen lets go tell the*  
*Queene Q* 183, 184 *West Farewell . bides* ] omitted Q 185-188. *Be*  
*thou unmanly deed . . despised* ] 176-179 *Be thou . unkingly deede.*  
*Exit . . despise Exit Q* 189 *Turn . . not* ] omitted Q 190-195.  
*They seek . . yield . . thine heirs for ever* ] 180-186 *They seeke . . yield*  
*my lord . . thine heires, conditionallie Q.*

186. *die in bands*] in confinement Marlowe has it in *Edward II.* "Weaponless must I fall, and *die in bands* ?" (beginning of Act III) (Dyce, 202, a) A later play than *The True Tragedie*.

192-201. *Not for myself* . *This oath* . ] Grafton says "After long arguments made . . among the Peeres, Prelates, and commons of the realme, upon the vigile of all Saintes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so much as King Henry had bene taken as King, by the space of xxxviij yeres and more that he should enioy the name and tytle of king and haue possession of the realme, during his life naturall ; And if he eyther died or resigned, or forfeited the same, for

infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayde Crowne and authoritie royall should immediately dissende to the Duke of Yorke, if he then lyued, or else to the next heyre of his line or linage, and that the Duke from thenceforth should be Protector and Regent of the land Provided alway, that if the King did closely or apertly studie or go about to breake or alter this agreement, or to compasse or imagine the death or destruction of the sayde Duke or hys bloud, then he to forfeit the crowne, and the Duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not only written, sealed and sworne by the two parties, but also were enacted in the high court of Parliament

Conditionally that here thou take an oath  
To cease this civil war, and, whilst I live,  
To honour me as thy king and sovereign;  
And neither by treason nor hostility

To seek to put me down and reign thyself 200

*York* This oath I willingly take and will perform.

*War* Long live King Henry! Plantagenet, embrace him

*K. Hen* And long live thou and these thy forward sons!

*York* Now York and Lancaster are reconciled

*Exe* Accursed be he that seeks to make them foes! 205

[*Sennet* Here they come down.

*York*. Farewell, my gracious lord I'll to my castle.

*War* And I'll keep London with my soldiers

*Norfolk* And I to Norfolk with my followers

*Mont.* And I unto the sea from whence I came.

[*Exeunt York and his Sons, Warwick, Norfolk,*

*Montague, Soldiers and Attendants*

*K Hen.* And I with grief and sorrow, to the court 210

*Enter Queen MARGARET and the PRINCE OF WALES.*

*Exe* Here comes the queen, whose looks bewray her anger:

I'll steal away.

*K Hen.* Exeter, so will I.

196-198. that here an oath . . . this civil war . . . sovereign] 187, 188. That here . . . thine oath . . . these civil Broiles . . . Soueraigne Q 199, 200 And . . . thyself] omitted Q 201-205. This oath . . . and use thy . . . foes] 189-193. That oath . . . and all thy . . . foes, Sound trumpet Q 206. Farewell castle] 194, 195 My Lord Ile take my leaue, for Ile to Wakefield To my Castell Exit Yorke and his sonnes Q 207-209 And I'll . . . And I to And I unto . . . came] 196-198 And Ile . . . Exit And Ile to . . . Exit And I to . . . came Exit Enter the Queene and the Prince Q 210 K. Hen. And I court] omitted Q 211, 212. Here . . . so will I] 199, 200 My Lord here comes the Queen, Ile steale away. King. And so will I Q.

. . . upon the Saturday next ensuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sound of a trumpet, solemnly proclaimed heyre apparaunt to the crowne of Englande, and Protectour of the realme" (1 669, 1461, 39th Yere) Amongst the many other articles "not given by Hall or Grafton, is York's oath, given by Holinshed" (1808 ed, 111 266) "I Richard Duke of Yorke promise and swear by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I will neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie, or indirectlie, in priue or apert . . . anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of King

Henrie the Sixt, or to the hurt or diminishing of his raignes or dignitie roiall, by violence or anie other waie, against his freedome or libertie . . . "

197. civil war] Very properly replaces "civil broils" of Q, an expression occurring in 1 Henry VI i. 1 53, and 2 Henry VI. iv viii 46, but not where the crown is called in question

205. Sennet] Only appears as a stage-direction in Shakespeare A special sounding of the trumpets

206 my castle] "to Wakefield to my castle" Q is useful

211 the queen . . . her anger] Both texts bring in the queen dramatically,

*Q. Mar.* Nay, go not from me, I will follow thee

*K. Hen.* Be patient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

*Q. Mar.* Who can be patient in such extremes? 215

Ah! wretched man, would I had died a maid,

And never seen thee, never borne thee son,

Seeing thou hast proved so unnatural a father.

Hath he deserved to lose his birthright thus?

Hadst thou but loved him half so well as I, 220

Or felt that pain which I did for him once,

Or nourish'd him as I did with my blood,

Thou would'st have left thy dearest heart-blood there,

Rather than have made that savage duke thine heir,

And disinherited thine only son 225

*Prince.* Father, you cannot disinherit me.

If you be king, why should not I succeed?

*K. Hen.* Pardon me, Margaret, pardon me, sweet son.

The Earl of Warwick and the duke enforced me.

*Q. Mar.* Enforced thee! art thou king, and wilt be forced? 230

I shame to hear thee speak. Ah! timorous wretch;

Thou hast undone thyself, thy son, and me,

And given unto the house of York such head

As thou shalt reign but by their sufferance.

213, 214 *Nay . . . Be patient . . . and I will stay*] 201, 202. *Nare stare, or else I follow thee. King Be . . . then Ile stare* Q. 215, 216. *Q. Mar Who can . . . man*] 203. *Queene What patience can there? ah timorous man* Q 216-229 *would I had died a maid . . . enforced me*] omitted Q 230-234. *Enforced thee . . . sufferance*] 204-206 *Thou hast . . . and me* (l. 232) *And given our rights unto the house of Yorke. Art thou a king and wilt be forst to yeeld?* Q

the present one adding "her anger" She does not really come at all "The Duke of Yorke well knowing that the Queene would spurne and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this Parliament, caused her and her sonne to be sent for by the King but she being a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, and thereto counsayled by the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, not only denied to come, but also assembled together a great armie, intending to take the King by fine force, out of the Lordes handes, and to set them to a newe schoole" (Grafton, i 670).

211. *bewray*] betray, as below, III. ii 97, in the sense of expose to view, discover. Occurs again in *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, and *Titus Andronicus*.

215 *Q. Mar Who can* ] The development of the Queen's character

and dramatic importance, from the Quarto, is to be noticed. At her first entry her first speech is nearly trebled, with the addition of several poetic touches. Moreover, the lines which have been knocked out of verse and misprinted are rearranged into proper metre. The Queen boasts a good deal more, being a manly woman, in the developed speech, as at line 254, we see at once what Shakespeare's view is, and what he does, given a free hand

223 *heart-blood*] An old expression, revived by Spenser in *Shepherd's Calendar*. Shakespeare has it in each of these three plays, and three times in *Richard II*. Also figuratively in *Troilus and Cressida*. It is not in Q 233 *given such head*] A term in horsemanship, liberty of motion (Schmidt) See again *Taming of Shrew*, II. ii. 249, and *2 Henry IV*, I. i. 43.



To entail him and his hers unto the crown, 235  
 What is it but to make thy sepulchre,  
 And creep into it far before thy time?  
 Warwick is chancellor and the lord of Calais,  
 Stern Faulconbridge commands the narrow seas;  
 The duke is made protector of the realm, 240  
 And yet shalt thou be safe? such safety finds  
 The trembling lamb environed with wolves.  
 Had I been there, which am a silly woman,  
 The soldiers should have toss'd me on their pikes  
 Before I would have granted to that act, 245  
 But thou prefer'st thy life before thine honour

235-238 *To entail him . . Calais*] omitted Q 239-241. *Stern Faulconbridge . . safe?*] 209 ( $\frac{3}{4}$  line)-212 ( $\frac{3}{4}$  line) *The Duke is made . . land Sterne . . seas And thinkest thou then To sleepe secure?* Q 241, 242. *such safety . . wolves*] omitted Q 243-246 *Had I . . honour*] 207-209 ( $\frac{3}{4}$ ) *Had I bene there, the souldiers should have tost Me on their lances points, before I would have Granted to their wils* Q 246, 247 *But thou . . thou dost*] omitted Q

238 *Warwick . . Calais*] These appointments are not mentioned by the Queen in Q. At the parliament held at Westminster after the first battle of St. Albans (1455-6), Grafton tells that "the Erle of Salisbury (Warwick's father) was appointed to be Chauncelor, & had the great Seale to him delivered and the Erle of Warwike was elected to the office of the Capteyne of Calice" (i 654)

239 *Stern Faulconbridge narrow seas*] This appointment is mentioned later after the battle of Tewkesbury in "the X Yere" of *Edward the Fourth* (Grafton, ii 43) "One Thomas Neucl, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt capitayne, a man of no lesse courage than audacitie . . Thys Bastarde was before thys time appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmyrall of the Sea, and had in charge so to keepe the passage between Douer and Calice, that none which either fauored King Edward or his friends should escape." Stone says "This appointment must have been made in 1470 after Warwick had broken with Edward IV." After Warwick's death he turned robber and pirate, and was taken and beheaded at Southampton. Marlowe copies this line in *Edward II*. "The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas" See note at iv viii. 3 below

239 *narrow seas*] from Q. See again below, iv viii. 3, and *Merchant of Venice*, ii viii. 28 and iii i. 4. The expression occurs in Golding's *Ovid*, bk. xiv. line 819 —

"The Lady crueller  
 Than are the rysing narrowe seas"  
 The expression occurs in "English Policy" (in Hakluyt), 1436. See also J. Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (Nichols' *Prog* ii 574), 1588

240 *duke is made protector*] For the Duke's third protectorship, see above, ii 192-201, extract

242 *lamb . . wolves*] This favourite metaphor occurs about eight times in these plays. In the two later plays it is usually absent (as here) from the Quarto

243 *silly woman*] "mere woman" Occurs again in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Not in Q. In *Faerie Queene*, i i 30, and in Peele's *David and Bethsabe*

244 *toss'd me on their pikes*] Compare J. Rainoldes *Dolarneys Primerose* (Grosart, p. 106), 1606 "to manage armes, To tosse a pike, and how to wield a lance." "Granted to that act" is a peculiar construction (consented to) not in Shakespeare elsewhere. It is in Q. In the "Irving Shakespeare" a quotation from Hall (254), "Graunted to their petitions," is given.

And seeing thou dost, I here divorce myself  
 Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,  
 Until that act of parliament be repeal'd  
 Whereby my son is disinherited. 250  
 The northern lords that have forsworn thy colours  
 Will follow mine, if once they see them spread,  
 And spread they shall be, to thy foul disgrace,  
 And utter ruin of the house of York  
 Thus do I leave thee. Come, son, let's away;  
 Our army is ready, come, we'll after them 255

*K. Hen* Stay, gentle Margaret, and hear me speak.

*Q. Mar.* Thou hast spoke too much already: get thee gone.

*K. Hen* Gentle son Edward, thou wilt stay with me?

*Q. Mar.* Ay, to be murder'd by his enemies 260

*Prince.* When I return with victory from the field

I'll see your grace till then I'll follow her

*Q. Mar* Come, son, away, we may not linger thus.

[*Exeunt Queen Margaret and the Prince*]

*K. Hen* Poor queen! how love to me and to her son

Hath made her break out into terms of rage. 265

Revenge may she be on that hateful duke,

Whose haughty spirit, winged with desire,

Will cost my crown, and like an empty eagle

247-250 *I here . disinherited*] 212-214. *I heere disuorce me Henry From thy bed, vntill that Act recalde, wherein thou yeldest to the house of Y<sup>e</sup>rke* *Q* 251-253 *The northern . foul disgrace*] 215-217 *The Northern spread they shall vnto thy deepe disgrace* *Q* 254-256 *And utter Come, son . . after them*] 218 *Come sonne, lets awaie, and leaue him heere alone* *Q* 257-262 *Stay, gentle . get thee gone thou wilt . follow her*] 219-224. *Stare gentle therefore be still . wilt thou . Exit follow her Exit. Q* 263 *Come . . thus*] omitted *Q*. 264-272. *Poor queen . . messenger*] 225-230 *Poore Queene, her loue to me and to the prince Her*

248. *table . bed*] "bed and board" in *As You Like It* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

250. *Whereby . . disinherited*] Malone points out the "remarkable variation" from *Q* after "Until that act of parliament be repeal'd." Here the Queen is a truer woman, and sets her divorce from his bed a *mensa et thoro* down to the wrong to her son

258. *get thee gone*] shows "her ger," and is more "manly" perhaps than "therefore be still," "hateful" (266) is, on the other hand, a softer word for Henry to use than "accursed." But the Quarto words are required below, II. 11 122

261. *from the field*] "to the field"

in the first Folio, but corrected in the later ones, so that it was a mere printer's error

264 *love to me*] One would have expected an alteration. This was the last motive operating in the finished queen. But Henry's simplicity is sustained

268 *cost my crown*] Several early commentators made a difficulty here, suggesting "coast," "cote," "truss," "souse," because "me" is omitted by a most natural and Shakespearian touch. See Steevens' (1793) edition, x 226, 227

268, 269 *eagle Tires on the flesh*] Compare *Venus and Adonis*, 56 "an empty eagle . . tires with her beak on feathers, flesh and bone." Compare

Tire on the flesh of me and of my son!

The loss of those three lords torments my heart 270

I'll write unto them and entreat them fair.

Come, cousin, you shall be the messenger.

*Exe.* And I, I hope, shall reconcile them all. [*Exeunt.*

## SCENE II.—*Sandal Castle*

*Enter* EDWARD, RICHARD, and MONTAGUE.

*Rich* Brother, though I be youngest, give me leave.

*Edw.* No, I can better play the orator

*Mont.* But I have reasons strong and forcible.

*Enter the* DUKE OF YORK.

*York* Why, how now, sons and brother! at a strife?

What is your quarrel? how began it first? 5

*Edw.* No quarrel, but a slight contention

*York* About what?

*Rich* About that which concerns your grace and us,

The crown of England, father, which is yours

*sonne, Makes hir in furie thus forget hir selfe Reuenged maye shee be on that  
accursed Duke Come cosen of Exeter, stae thou here, For Clifford and those  
Northren Lords be gone I feare towards Wakefield, to disturbe the Duke Q  
273. And I . . . them all]* omitted Q

## SCENE II

1-3. *Rich* Brother . . *Edw* No . . orator . . forcible] 1-3. *Edw.* Broth ,  
and cosen Montague, giue mee leaue to speake *Rich.* Nay, . . Orator  
forceable Q. 4-5 *Enter* York. York Why first? 4. *Enter the Duke*  
of Yorke Yorke How nowe sonnes what at a jarre amongst your selues? Q  
6-9. *Edw* No quarrel . . yours] 5-7 (prose) *Rich* No father, but a sweete

Golding's Ovid (x. 44) "Too tyre on  
Titus growing hart the greedy Grype  
forbeares" (when Orpheus played)  
Craig quotes from Sidney's *Astrophel*  
and *Stella*, Sonnet 14, where this  
same gripe tires on Prometheus Also  
in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I.

271. *entreat them fair*] be courteous  
to them Occurs again *Richard III*  
and *Troilus and Cressida* Compare  
"Speak him fair" (2 *Henry VI* iv  
i. 120). Spenserian language —

"He them with speeches meet  
Does faire entreat, no courting  
nicetee,

But simple, trew and eke unfained  
sweet "

(*Faerie Queene*, I. x. 7).

## SCENE II

1 *giue me leaue*] Shortened from the

full "give me leave to speak" in Q,  
which has already occurred in both  
texts (I i 120 above). See again, III.  
iii 22 below.

2 *play the orator*] See note, 1 *Henry*  
VI. iv i 175 The expression occurs  
there, and twice later in the present  
play Also in *Richard III* Gabriel  
Harvey has "his constant zeale to play  
the Duels Oratour" (*Pierces Super-*  
*erogation* (Grosart, II. 75), 1593)  
"Devil's orator" is a favourite ex-  
pression of Harvey's

4 *at a strife*] "at a jar" in Quarto  
here is paralleled in Part II i i 251  
"the peers be fall'n at jars" The  
lines 6 to 9 omitting "About what?"  
are printed as prose in Q, but are obvi-  
ously verse. The careless printing  
of that copy is to be borne in  
mind.

*York.* Mine, boy? not till King Henry be dead 10  
*Rich.* Your right depends not on his life or death  
*Edw.* Now you are heir, therefore enjoy it now  
 By giving the house of Lancaster leave to breathe,  
 It will outrun you, father, in the end  
*York.* I took an oath that he should quietly reign 15  
*Edw.* But for a kingdom any oath may be broken  
 I would break a thousand oaths to reign one year  
*Rich.* No; God forbid your grace should be forsworn.  
*York.* I shall be, if I claim by open war  
*Rich.* I'll prove the contrary, if you'll hear me speak. 20  
*York.* Thou canst not, son, it is impossible  
*Rich.* An oath is of no moment, being not took  
 Before a true and lawful magistrate  
 That hath authority over him that swears  
 Henry had none, but did usurp the place, 25  
 Then, seeing 'twas he that made you to depose,  
 Your oath, my lord, is vain and frivolous  
 Therefore, to arms! And, father, do but think  
 How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown,

*contention, about that which concerns your selfe and vs, The crowne of England father Q.* 10-15. *York* Mine, boy? . . . quietly reign] 8-10 *York.* The crowne boy, why Henries yet alive, And I have sworne that he shall raigne in quiet till His death Q 16, 17 But . . . one year] 11, 12. But I would breake an hundred othes to raigne one yeare Q 18-20 No speak] 13-15 And if it please your grace to grue me leaue, I'll shew your grace the waie to saue your oath, And dispossesse King Henrie from the crowne Q 21. Thou . . . impossible] 16 I prethee Dicke let me heare thy deurse Q 22, 23 An oath . . . took . . . magistrate] 17, 18. Then thus my Lord. An oath . . . sworne before a lawfull magistrate Q 24, 25. That . . . place] 19. Henry is none but doth vsurpe your right Q 26-34. Then, seeing . . . Henry's heart] 20-22. And yet your grace stands bound to him by oath. Then noble

14 outrun you] escape from you  
 Compare 2 *Henry VI.* v iii. 73 "Can we outrun the heavens?" See note

17. break oaths to reign] Halliwell quotes from Cicero here, in his edition of *True Tragedie* (Q 1) "Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia Violandum est" York obtained a dispensation from the Pope to release him from his oath See extract below from Holinshed at i iv 100-102.

18. your grace] Note the omission from the finished play of a redundancy of titles "your grace," "noble father," crowded in Quartos.

27. frivolous] Occurs again in Part I. iv. 1. 112, and in *Taming of Shrew*,

v. 1. 28 Hall has the word in York's speech to the lords of parliament above "without these two poyntes knownen and understanded, your iudgements may be voyde and your cogitations *frivolous*" (p 245, ed 1548).

29. to wear a crown] Compare with *Tamburlaine*, Part I ii v. (17, a) —

"A god is not so glorious as a king,  
 I think the pleasures they enjoy  
 in heaven

Cannot compare with kingly joys  
 in earth

To wear a crown enchased with  
 pearl and gold . . .

To ask d have " . . .

And a little later in the same play (18, b).—

Within whose circuit is Elysium, 30  
 And all that poets feign of bliss and joy  
 Why do we linger thus? I cannot rest  
 Until the white rose that I wear be dyed  
 Even in the lukewarm blood of Henry's heart  
*York* Richard, enough I will be king, or die 35  
 Brother, thou shalt to London presently,  
 And whet on Warwick to this enterprise  
 Thou, Richard, shalt to the Duke of Norfolk,  
 And tell him privily of our intent  
 You, Edward, shall unto my Lord Cobham, 40  
 With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise  
 In them I trust, for they are soldiers,  
 Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit  
 While you are thus employ'd, what resteth more,

*father resolve your selfe, And once more claime the crowne* Q For lines 33, 34  
*here, rose . dyed . in . blood, see below at* 11. 1. 81-88 35 *Richard*  
*die* 23, 24 *I, saist thou so bore? why then it shall be so I am resolute*  
*to win the crowne, or die* Q 36, 37 *Brother enterprise* 30-33 *And*  
*Richard thou to London strait shalt post, And bid Richard Neuill Earle of*  
*Warwike To leave the citie and with his men of warre, To meet me at Saint*  
*Albons ten daies hence* Q 38, 39 *Thou, Richard . intent* 27-29 *Thou*  
*cosen Montague, shalt to Norfolke straight, and bid the Duke to muster uppe*  
*his souldiers, And come to me to Wakefield presentlie* Q 40, 41 *You . .*  
*Lord . rise* 25, 26 *Edward, thou shalt to Edmund Brooke Lord . rise* Q  
 42-47. *In them . Lancaster*] omitted Q

"the ripest fruit of all  
 That perfect bliss and sole felicity,  
 The sweet fruition of an earthly  
 crown"

30 *circuit* "circlet" or "circulet"  
 is Spenser's word in *Mother Hubberds*  
*Tale*, "Circulet of Golde" and  
 "golden Circlet" both occur (ll 640-  
 643) See "golden *circuit* on my  
 head" (2 *Henry VI* III. i. 352 and see  
 note) "Round" and "rigol" are  
 other Shakespearian words for the  
 diadem "Circuit" is not in the old  
 versions of these plays

34 *lukewarm blood*] "lukewarm  
 water" occurs in *Timon of Athens*  
 "Lukewarm blood" is an expression  
 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, I. ix. 36,  
 and *Visions of Bellay*, Sonnet 6, 1591  
 It is also in *Lochner* But the sarcas-  
 tic touch here is Shakespeare's The  
 speech here has been magically trans-  
 formed

37. *whet on*] See *King John*, III. iv.  
 181, and 2 *Henry VI*. II. i. 34. Not  
 the common use, as in "whet your  
 wits," "whet your malice" (Spenser)

40 *my Lord Cobham*] A "speci-  
 friend" of York's Grafton associates  
 him with him at the first battle of St  
 Albans "So he (Duke of York)  
 beyng in the Marches of Wales, asso-  
 ciate with his speciall friendes, the  
 Erles of Sarisbury, and Warwike, the  
 Lorde Cobham and other, assembled  
 an army, and . . marched toward  
 London" (i. 653) See line 56

41-43 *Kentishmen will willingly*  
*rise full of spirit*] See note at 2  
*Henry VI* IV. vii. 60, 61 When  
 York wished "to cause his great com-  
 motion," time of Jack Cade, "the  
 overture of this matter was put forth  
 in Kent," "because the Kentishmen  
 be impacient in wronges, disdeyning  
 of to much oppression, and ever desir-  
 ous of newe change, and newe fangle-  
 nesse" (Grafton, i. 640) For the  
 "wise and very good policy" by  
 which the Kentishmen only, in all  
 England, preserved their ancient  
 liberties an. 1067, see Grafton, i. 155-6.

44 *what resteth more*] See below,  
 IV. II. 13, V. vii. 42, and *Taming of*

But that I seek occasion how to rise, 45  
 And yet the king not privy to my drift,  
 Nor any of the house of Lancaster ?

*Enter a Messenger.*

But, stay · what news ? why com'st thou in such post ?  
*Mess* The queen with all the northern earls and lords  
 Intend here to besiege you in your castle. 50  
 She is hard by with twenty thousand men,  
 And therefore fortify your hold, my lord  
*York.* Ay, with my sword What ! think'st thou that we fear  
 them ?  
 Edward and Richard, you shall stay with me ,  
 My brother Montague shall post to London 55  
 Let noble Warwick, Cobham, and the rest,  
 Whom we have left protectors of the king,  
 With powerful policy strengthen themselves,  
 And trust not simple Henry nor his oaths

47. *Enter . . . ] Enter Gabriel Ff.* 48 *Enter But post ?]* 36.  
*Now, what newes ? Enter . . . Q* 49-52 *The queen . . . my lord]* 37-41.  
*My lord, the Queene with thirtie thousand men, Accompanied with the Earles*  
*of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmerland, and others of the House of*  
*Lancaster, are marching towards Wakefield, To besedged you in your castell*  
*heere Q* 53-61. *Ay, with . . . leave]* 42, 43. *Enter sir John and sir Hugh*

*Shrew*, I 1. 250 And *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I iv. 11. "It resteth nowe (unlesse I wronge her much) I keepe my vowe"

46. *privy to my drift]* So "privy to the plot" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III 1 12) "Drift," meaning intention, purpose, is common in Shakespeare

47 *Enter a Messenger]* "Enter Gabriel" in Folio Perhaps Gabriel Spencer, an actor in Henslowe's company in 1598. See again, III 1. 1 (note).

49 *The queen with all the northern earls]* Hall (or Grafton) is closely followed "The Duke by small iourneys came to his Castell of Sandall besyde Wakefelde on Christmasse eue, and there began to assemble his tenantes and friendes The Queene beyng thereof asseynteyned, determined to couple with him while his power was small and his ayde not come And so, hauyng in her companie, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire,

the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rosse, and in effect all the Lordes of the Northpart, with xviij thousand men, or, as some write, xxij thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castell, he hauyng with him not fully five thousand persons, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and although Sir Dauby Hall, his olde seruauant and chiefe Counsaylor, aduised him to keepe his Castell and to defend the same . . . a Dauby, Dauby, hast thou loved me so long, and nowe wouldest haue me dishonoured . . . lyke a birde inclosed in a cage . . . wouldest thou that I for dread of a scoldyng woman, whose weapon is onely her tongue and her nayles should enclose my selfe . . . my mind is rather to die with honor, than to lue with shame Therefore auauce my Banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone" (Grafton, I 670).

*Mon.* Brother, I go, I'll win them, fear it not : 60  
And thus most humbly I do take my leave [Exit.

*Enter Sir JOHN and Sir HUGH MORTIMER*

*York.* Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, mine uncles,  
You are come to Sandal in a happy hour ;  
The army of the queen mean to besiege us  
*Sir John* She shall not need, we'll meet her in the field. 65

*York.* What<sup>1</sup> with five thousand men ?

*Rich* Ay, with five hundred, father, for a need  
A woman's general ; what should we fear ?

[A march afar off

*Edw.* I hear their drums . let's set our men in order,  
And issue forth and bid them battle straight. 70

*York.* Five men to twenty<sup>1</sup> though the odds be great,

I doubt not, uncle, of our victory

Many a battle have I won in France,

Whenas the enemy hath been ten to one

Why should I not now have the like success ? 75

[Alarum Exeunt

*Mortimer. Yorke. A Gods name, let them come, Cosen Montague post you hence  
and bores stare you with me (prose) Q. 62-64 Sir John . You are come  
. . . mean . . . us] 44-46 (continued from 43 to York verse) Sir John . . .  
Your welcome . an happie . meanes . us Q. 65-67 She  
need, we'll . men ? Ay, with . . . for a need] 47-50 She . . . needs my  
Lorde, weele . . . souldiers uncle ? I father . hundred for a need Q. 68  
A . we fear] 50 A . . you feare Q. 69, 70. I hear . straight] 55.  
Lets marich aware, I heare their drums Exit Q. 71, 72 Five men . .  
victory] omitted Q. 73-75. Many a battle . France . . Why .  
success] 51-54 Indeed, manie brave battles . Normandre and why should  
I now doubt Of the like successe ? I am resolv'd Come lets goe Q*

70. *bid them battle*] Compare "bid base" in extract at line 49 Offer battle Occurs thrice later in this play, III iii. 235, v 1 63 and 77 Marlowe uses the old phrase similarly "What should we do but *bid them battle* straight" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I II ii (14, a))

74. *Whenas*] when A very common word at this date, when divided up as it sometimes is, in old and new editions,

it becomes unintelligible to modern readers

75 *Come lets goe*] in Q here; has been noted upon already It occurs four times in *Contention*, but is always omitted in *2 Henry VI*. It belongs to the dismissal of the actors and seems to be a form of stage direction to be filled up, as it continually is "Come, my lords, let's go," etc. See note in *2 Henry VI* IV 1. 141

# THE THIRD PART OF

[ACT I.]

## SCENE III.—*Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wakefield.*

*Alarums Enter RUTLAND, and his Tutor.*

*Rut* Ah, whither shall I fly to 'scape their hands?  
Ah, tutor, look, where bloody Clifford comes!

*Enter CLIFFORD and Soldiers.*

*Clif* Chaplain, away! thy priesthood saves thy life  
As for the brat of this accursed duke,  
Whose father slew my father, he shall die 5

*Tut* And I, my lord, will bear him company

*Clif* Soldiers, away with him!

*Tut* Ah, Clifford, murder not this innocent child,  
Lest thou be hated both of God and man!

*[Exit, dragged off by Soldiers]*

*Clif* How now! is he dead already? or is it fear 10  
That makes him close his eyes? I'll open them.

*Rut* So looks the pent-up lion o'er the wretch  
That trembles under his devouring paws,

SCENE III. *Alarums*] *Alarums* Q (omitted Ff except at close of last scene).  
*Enter* . ] Ff, and then *Enter the yong Earle of Rutland and his Tutor* Q.  
1. *Rut.* Ah, whither ] 1, 2 *Tutor* Oh flee my Lord, lets leave the Castell,  
And flee to Wakefield straight Q. 2 Ah, tutor . comes! ] 3 *Enter Clif-*  
*ford* *Rut* O Tutor . comes Q 3-5 *Clif* Chaplain . die ] 4-6 *Clif*  
*Chaplain* . that accursed die Q 6 *Tut* And . . company]  
omitted Q. 7 *Soldiers* . him] 9, 10 *Soldiers*, aware and drag him hence  
*perforce* *Aware with the villaine* *Exit the Chaplain* Q 8, 9 Ah, Clifford  
. . God and man! ] 7, 8. Oh Clifford spare this tender Lord, least Heaven  
*revenge it on thy head* Oh save his life Q. 10, 11 How now! is he dead  
*them*] 11, 12 How now, what dead *them* Q 12 So wretch]  
13 So . lambe Q 13 That . . paws] omitted Q

5 *father slew my father*] See above,  
1 9, and note

12 *pent-up lion*] The idea is of the  
lion and the captive —

"For spectacle unto imperiall Rome,  
To be according to their barbarous  
laws

Bloudily torn with greedy lions  
paws"

(*Sylvester's Du Bartas*, The Sixth Day  
of the First Week) The "properties  
of the lion" in Hall, quoted below,  
are more gentle. The change from  
lamb (Q) is very effective. There is  
hardly another alteration. Rutland's

quotation from Ovid may easily have  
been dropped in Q. I do not believe  
"pent-up" means desperate except in  
the sense that he is a captive lion and  
fiercer than in a natural state. "Pent up"  
is in *King Lear* of "guilt" But here  
*The Contention* Quarto may have sug-  
gested it (See at 2 *Henry VI.* II iv.  
24) "And in thy pent up studie rue  
my shame"—a passage by Shakespeare,  
who loved such transpositions—mean-  
ing "And pent up in thy study," etc.  
See *Richard III* iv iii 36 "The  
son of Clarence have I pent up  
close"



And so he walks, insulting o'er his prey,  
And so he comes to rend his limbs asunder. 15

Ah ! gentle Clifford, kill me with thy sword,  
And not with such a cruel threatening look  
Sweet Clifford, hear me speak before I die .

I am too mean a subject for thy wrath ,  
Be thou revenged on men, and let me live. 20

*Clif.* In vain thou speak'st, poor boy , my father's blood  
Hath stopp'd the passage where thy words should enter.

*Rut.* Then let my father's blood open it again .  
He is a man, and, Clifford, cope with him

*Clif.* Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine 25  
Were not revenge sufficient for me ;

No, if I digg'd up thy forefathers' graves,  
And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,  
It could not slake mine ire, nor ease my heart.  
The sight of any of the house of York 30

Is as a fury to torment my soul ,  
And till I root out their accursed line,  
And leave not one alive, I live in hell.

Therefore— [*Lifting his hand.*

*Rut.* O, let me pray before I take my death ! 35  
To thee I pray , sweet Clifford, pity me !

*Clif.* Such pity as my rapier's point affords

*Rut.* I never did thee harm why wilt thou slay me ?

*Clif.* Thy father hath

*Rut.* But 'twas ere I was born.

Thou hast one son , for his sake pity me, 40

Lest in revenge thereof, sith God is just,

He be as miserably slain as I

Ah, let me live in prison all my days ,

14, 15 And . . . o'er comes asunder] 14, 15 And . . . ouer . . .  
turnes againe . . . in sunder Q. 16, 17 Ah ! gentle Clifford . look] 16,  
17 Oh Clifford looke Q. 18. Sweet die] omitted Q. 19-24 I  
am too . open it cope with him] 18-23 I am too . ope it . . . cope  
with him Q. 25-34 Had I . . . No, if I hung . . . their accursed  
alive hell Therefore . . . ] 24-32 Had I Or should I dig  
hang . . . that curssed . . . on earth . . . Ile . . . hell therefore Q. 34  
[*Lifting his hand*] Johnson, omitted Q, Ff. 35-38 O, let me . . . Such . . .  
harm why wilt thou slay me ?] 33-36 Oh let me I such . . . hurt, where-  
fore wilt thou kill mee ? Q. 39-45. Thy father Ah, let me . . . no  
cause] 37-44 Thy father . . . Oh, let me . . . no cause Q.

35. before I take my death] See 2 37 rapier] See note on "Spanish  
Henry VI II. III 88. Nowhere else in rapier," *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. II 167  
Shakespeare. (in this edition)

And when I give occasion of offence,  
Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.

45

*Clif.* No cause!

Thy father slew my father; therefore, die. [*Stabs him.*

*Rut.* Di faciant laudis summa sit ista tuæ! [*Dies.*

*Clif.* Plantagenet! I come, Plantagenet!

And this thy son's blood cleaving to my blade 50

Shall rust upon my weapon, till thy blood,

Congea!d with his, do make me wipe off both. [*Exit.*

#### SCENE IV.—*Another part of the field*

*Alarum Enter RICHARD, Duke of York*

*York.* The army of the queen hath got the field.

My uncles both are slain in rescuing me,

46-52. *No cause . . . this . . . wipe off both*] *No cause . . .* (Rutland's latin verse omitted) . . . *his . . . wipe off both Q.* [*Stabs him, Dies, omitted Q, Rf*]

#### SCENE IV.

1-5 *The army . . . hunger-starved wolves*] 1-4. *Ah Yorke, post to thy castell, save thy life, The goale is lost thou house of Lancaster, Thrise happie chance is it for thee and thine, That heauen abridgde my daies and calls me hence Q.*

47 *therefore, die*] Rutland's brutal murder is thus told by Hall "While this battaile was in fightyng, a prieste called sir Robert Aspell, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland, 11 sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, scace of ye age of xii yerres, a faire getlemā, and a mayden-like person, perceiuyng y<sup>e</sup> flight was more sauegard . . . conveyed therle out of ye felde . . . but . . . he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed and taken. . . The yong gentelman dismated, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding up his handes and making dolorous countenance, for his speeche was gone for feare Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peraduerture may do you good hereafter With that worde, the Lord Clifford marked him and sayde by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that word, stacke the [strake in Grafton] erle to ye hart with his

dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the properties of the Lyon, which is a furious and vnreasonable beast, is to be cruell to them that withstande him, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selues before him" (p 251, ed 1809)

48 *Di . . . tua*] "This line is in Ovid's *Epsile from Phyllis to Demophon* I find the same quotation in Nashe's *Haue with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up*, etc" (Steevens, i 596)

51, 52. *thy blood, Congea!d*] See again v 11. 37 Spenser uses the same expression "His cruell wounds with cruddy bloud congeald" (*Faerie Queene*, i v. 29)

52 *Congea!d with his*] Undoubtedly the Quartos are correct here. The Cambridge editors have the collation "*this* his Anon. conj" Confirmation strong, but "Anon." wasn't far to seek.

And all my followers to the eager foe  
 Turn back and fly, like ships before the wind,  
 Or lambs pursued by hunger-starved wolves. 5  
 My sons, God knows what hath bechanced them  
 But this I know, they have demean'd themselves  
 Like men born to renown by life or death  
 Three times did Richard make a lane to me,  
 And thrice cried "Courage, father! fight it out!" 10  
 And full as oft came Edward to my side,  
 With purple falchion, painted to the hilt  
 In blood of those that had encounter'd him.  
 And when the hardest warriors did retire,  
 Richard cried "Charge! and give no foot of ground!" 15  
 And cried "A crown, or else a glorious tomb!  
 A sceptre, or an earthly sepulchre!"  
 With this, we charged again but, out, alas!

6-8. *My sons . . . them But this . . . death*] 5-7 *But God knows what chance hath betide my sonnes But this . . . death* Q 9-10 *Three times . . . it out*] 8-9. *Three times this date came Richard to my sight, And cried courage Father Victorie or death* Q 11-13. *And full . . . side, With . . . those that . . . him*] 10-12 *And twice so oft came Edward to my view, With . . . whom he had slaughtered* Q 14-21 *And when . . . waves*] omitted Q.

3 *eager foe*] Compare Golding's Ovid (x1 462, 463) —

"For anon the wolfe . . .  
 Persisted sharpe and eager still,  
 untill that as he stood  
 Fast byghting on a Bullocks  
 necke, she turned him intoo  
 stone"

4 *Thrice happie*] of Q See Introduction to Part I upon this See also "thrice famed," 2 *Henry VI* iii. 11 157 (note), a Spenserian expression

5 *hunger-starved*] See note on "hungry-starved men" (1 *Henry VI*. i. v 16) Not met with again in Shakespeare. Frequent with writers of this date, especially Nashe. It is in Golding's Ovid (xiv. 241-243) —

"And lying lyke a Lyon feerce or  
*hunger sterved* hownd

Upon them, very eagerlie he  
 downe his greedy gut

Theyr bowwells . . . put"

*New Eng Dict* has earlier examples of the verb "to hunger starve," and the part. adj. "hunger-starven" Not in Q

6. *bechanced*] See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i i 61, and *Merchant of Venice*, i. i. 38.

9 *make a lane*] Compare *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* "Make lanes of slaughterd bodies through thine hoast" (Shakespeare Library, Hazlitt ed p 246, 1591) And Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (p. 18, ed 1621), First Day of First Week —

"Whose two-hand sword  
 Slices through whole Troops at  
 once,

And heaws broad Lanes before it  
 and behinde" (1591)

9, 10. *Three times . . . And thrice*] See note to 2 *Henry VI* iii 11 358 for a parallel from Spenser Another is at *Faerie Queene*, ii 1 46 "Thrise he her reard, and thrise she sunck againe." The Quarto extends the figure "And twice so oft," a non-crescendo touch, judiciously altered

12 *purple falchion*] falchion, a curved sword, "purple" is used of blood again, ii v 99 and v vi 64 Also in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Lucrece*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Richard II* and *Richard III* A favourite term with Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, i. ii 17) Upton quotes from Chaucer, in Todd's Spenser Used by Peele and Greene also, but perhaps one of Spenser's many revivals

We boded again · as I have seen a swan  
 With bootless labour swim against the tide, 20  
 And spend her strength with over-matching waves.

[*A short alarum within.*]

Ah, hark! the fatal followers do pursue,  
 And I am faint and cannot fly their fury,  
 And were I strong I would not shun their fury  
 The sands are number'd that make up my life, 25  
 Here must I stay, and here my life must end

*Enter Queen MARGARET, CLIFFORD, NORTHUMBERLAND, the  
 young PRINCE, and Soldiers*

Come, bloody Clifford, rough Northumberland,  
 I dare your quenchless fury to more rage ·  
 I am your butt, and I abide your shot.

*North.* Yield to our mercy, proud Plantagenet 30  
*Clf.* Ay, to such mercy as his ruthless arm

22-26 *Ah, hark! . . . Here must I . . . end*] 13-15 *Oh harke, I heare the  
 drums! No wase to fle No wase to saue my life? And heere I . . . end* Q  
 27 *Enter . . .*] 16 *Enter the Queene, Clifford, Northumberland, and souldiers*  
 27-30 *Come . . . rage I am your . . . shot . . . mercy . . . Plān-  
 tagenet*] 16-19 *Came . . . bloud, This is the But and this abides your shot . . .  
 mercies . . . Plantagenet* Q 31-34 *Ay ruthless . . . show'd . . .  
 prick*] 20-23 *I . . . ruthfull . . . lent . . . pricke* Q.

19 *boded*] Johnson would read  
 “budge,” Collier suggested “botch”  
 In support of the latter Nashe spells  
 the tailor’s word (which is hardly used  
 without “up,” or without an accusa-  
 tive), “botch,” “bodge” in his Dedic-  
 ation prefixed to Greene’s *Menaphon*  
 (Grosart, vi 16) “to bodge vp a blank  
 verse with ifs and ands” (1589). But  
 in spite of this no doubt the word  
 should be “budge,” meaning “flinch,”  
 or “give way” (Schmidt), often used  
 by Shakespeare. See *Coriolanus*, i.  
 vi 44 and *Henry IV* ii iv 388.

19 *as I have seen*] Compare Gold-  
 ing’s Ovid, ix. 58 “So have I seene  
 two myghtie Bulles,” etc. Spenser  
 uses “Like as,” “As when” to intro-  
 duce his numerous similitudes Gold-  
 ing has also “So have I seene a brooke  
 ere this,” etc., iii 721. See “Oft have  
 I seen” (*Henry VI*. iii ii 161)

20 *bootless*] One of the oldest words  
 in -less.

21 *over-matching*] “o’ermatched”  
 occurs *Henry VI*. iv. iv 11 and below  
 in this scene, line 64, but not again  
 in Shakespeare Marlowe has “over

*matching* foes” in *Tamburlaine*, Part  
 I. Compare Golding’s Ovid, viii 257  
 “over matching still eche quill with  
 one of larger sort” A different sense  
 See also Grosart’s Greene, xiii 10, 81  
 25 *sands . . . life*] The hour-glass  
 is a favourite metaphor with Shake-  
 speare Compare *Pericles*, v ii. 1,  
*Cymbeline*, iii ii 74, *Merchant of  
 Venice*, i 1. 25, *Henry VI*. iv ii  
 36, *Henry V*. Prologue.

28 *quenchless*] Again in *Lucrece*,  
 1554 See Introduction on adjectives  
 with suffix -less Spenser has “Phleg-  
 eton with quenchless flames” in *Virgils  
 Gnat* (Globe ed 511, a) Peele uses  
 it in *A Tale of Troy* (557, b, Dyce,  
 1874) Marlowe has it also in *Edward  
 II* and in *Massacre at Paris* (later).

29 *I am your butt*] Compare *Henry  
 V* i ii 186 And Sylvester’s *Du  
 Bartas*, Second Day of First Week —  
 “And chiefly Phœbus, to whose ar-  
 rows bright

Our Globy Grandame serues for  
 But and White”

(p. 28, ed 1621) 1591

31. *ruthless*] “ruthfull” in Q. Gold-

With downright payment show'd unto my father.

Now Phaëthon hath tumbled from his car,

And made an evening at the noontide prick

*York.* My ashes, as the phoenix, may bring forth 35

A bird that will revenge upon you all,

And in that hope I throw mine eyes to heaven,

Scorning whate'er you can afflict me with.

Why come you not? what! multitudes, and fear?

*Clif.* So cowards fight when they can fly no further, 40

So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons;

So desperate thieves, all hopeless of their lives,

Breathe out invectives 'gainst the officers.

*York.* O Clifford, but bethink thee once again,

And in thy thought o'errun my former time; 45

And, if thou canst for blushing, view this face,

35-39 *My ashes, as revenge upon . . . throw . . . come you not?* . . .  
*fear?* 24-28 *My ashes like . . . revenged on . . . cast . . . state you Lords?*  
*feare?* Q 40-43 *So cowards . . . further falcon's . . . officers*]  
 29-32. *So cowards . . . longer . . . Ravens . . . officers* Q. 44, 45 *O Clif-*  
*ford, but . . . thought time*] 33, 34 *Oh Clifford, yet . . . munde . . .*  
*time* Q. 46 *And . . . face*] omitted Q

ing and Spenser (*Shepherd's Calender*, August) both use "ruthful." In *Richard III* iv iii. 5, "ruthless" of the earliest Quartos is altered to "ruthful" of the Folios (a rarer word) by some editors "Ruthless" though commoner is later Peele uses it. "Ruthful" occurs below (see note), II. v 95

33. *Phaëthon*] "Phœbus' fairest childe," as Spenser names him, who tried to drive his father's chariot, is mentioned again below, II vi. 12, in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii 2. Such trite classical illustrations belong to Shakespeare's early work. The tale is nowhere better told than in the second book of Golding's Ovid. The passage here is unmercifully lugged in. It is in the Quarto in the same predicament. Both are Shakespeare's work

34 *noontide prick*] Compare *Luc-rece*, 781 "Ere her arrive his weary noontide prick." See also *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv 119 "Prick" is a mark or point.

35, 36 *phoenix . . . bird*] —

"Th' immortall Phoenix . . . out of her ashes springs  
 A Worm, an Egg then, then a bird with wings  
 Just like the first"

(Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, Fifth Day of the First Week, p. 104, 1591). The expression has already occurred in *Henry VI* iv vii 93 (note). See also *Henry VIII* v v 41, and that most strange poem *The Phoenix and the Turtle* "Bird," meaning young bird, chicken, formerly common, is still used provincially

41 *So doves do peck*] See below, II. ii 18 *And Antony and Cleopatra*, III xiii 197. "In that mood the dove will peck the estridge" (goshawk). The parallels from other undoubted Shakespearean plays adduced in this scene, which is practically identical with Q, set the reader on firm ground at once. Both are by Shakespeare.

41 *falcon's talons*] The reading "ravens" in Q seems almost an error. The alteration was necessary

43 *invectives*] Only again in *Luc-rece*, Arg 24. "Invectively" is in *As You Like It*. See Harvey's *Letters to Spenser*, 1581

45 *o'errun*] survey, review, run over. Instanced in *New Eng Dict* back to the year 1000. Not again in Shakespeare

46 *for*] on account of. Common in Shakespeare.

And bite thy tongue, that slanders him with cowardice  
Whose frown hath made thee faint and fly ere this.

*Clif* I will not bandy with thee word for word,  
But buckle with thee blows, twice two for one. 50

*Q. Mar.* Hold, valiant Clifford! for a thousand causes  
I would prolong awhile the traitor's life  
Wrath makes him deaf speak thou, Northumberland.

*North* Hold, Clifford! do not honour him so much  
To prick thy finger, though to wound his heart 55  
What valour were it, when a cur doth grin,  
For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,  
When he might spurn him with his foot away?  
It is war's prize to take all vantages,  
And ten to one is no impeach of valour 60

[*They lay hands on York, who struggles.*]

*Clif.* Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the gin

*North* So doth the cony struggle in the net.

*York* So triumph thieves upon their conquer'd booty;  
So true men yield, with robbers so o'ermatch'd

*North* What would your grace have done unto him now? 65

*Q. Mar* Brave warriors, Clifford and Northumberland,  
Come, make him stand upon this molehill here,  
That raught at mountains with outstretched arms,

47, 48. And . . . slanders . . . Whose . . . fly ere this] 36, 37 And . . .  
slanderst . . . whose verbe looke hath made thee quake ere this Q. 49-53.  
I will not . . . prolong . . . life . . . deaf . . . Northumberland] 37-41 I  
will not . . . prolong the traitors life a while . . . death (deafe Qq 2, 3) . . .  
Northumberland Q. 54-60 Hold, Clifford! . . . valour It is war's  
. vantages . . . of valour] 42-48 Hold Clifford valure . . . Tis warres  
. . . advantages . . . in warres, Fight and take him Q. 61, 62 Ay, ay  
. . . cony . . . net] 49, 50 I, I cunne with the net Q. 63-65 So  
triumph . . . with . . . overmatch'd . . . would . . . unto him now? 51-53.  
So triumphs . . . by robbers overmatcht . . . will . . . with him? Q. 66-69.  
Brave warriors . . . arms, Yet . . . hand] 54-57. Brave warriors That  
aunde . . . arme, And . . . hand Q.

48 faint] See above, I i 129.

49. bandy . . . word for word] Again in *Taming of Shrew*, v ii 172. Shakespeare is very partial to this metaphor from tennis Compare Marlowe's *Edward II* (Dyce, 185, a) "I'll bandy with the barons and the earls"; where the meaning is exchange blows but no more words

50. buckle with thee] grapple or couple with in combat. See note to I *Henry VI* I ii. 95

53. deaf] misprinted "death," Q  
60. impeach] accusation, reproach, as in *Comedy of Errors*, v. 269. Elsewhere "impeachment."

61 woodcock gin] See *Twelfth Night*, II v 92

67, 68 molehill . . . mountains] An old antithesis, or proverb. Again in Shakespeare in *Coriolanus*. *New Eng Dict* gives an example from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, 1570. See Pecham's *True Discourse* (Hakluyt ed 1811, III 223), 1583 "They will take upon them to make Mountains seeme Molehilles and flies elephants." Greene, Nashe and Flavel all use it, the latter in 1573

68. raught] reached.

Yet parted but the shadow with his hand  
 What<sup>1</sup> was it you that would be England's king?<sup>2</sup> 70  
 Was't you that revell'd in our parliament,  
 And made a preachment of your high descent?<sup>2</sup>  
 Where are your mess of sons to back you now?<sup>2</sup>  
 The wanton Edward, and the lusty George?<sup>2</sup>  
 And where's that valiant crook-back prodigy, 75  
 Dicky your boy, that with his grumbling voice  
 Was wont to cheer his dad in mutinies?<sup>2</sup>  
 Or, with the rest, where is your darling Rutland?<sup>2</sup>  
 Look! York I stain'd this napkin with the blood  
 That valiant Clifford with his rapier's point 80  
 Made issue from the bosom of the boy;  
 And if thine eyes can water for his death,  
 I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal  
 Alas! poor York, but that I hate thee deadly,  
 I should lament thy miserable state. 85  
 I prithee grieve, to make me merry, York.  
 What, hath thy fiery heart so parch'd thine entrails  
 That not a tear can fall for Rutland's death?<sup>2</sup>  
 Why art thou patient, man? thou should'st be mad;  
 And I, to make thee mad, do mock thee thus 90  
 Stamp, rave, and fret, that I may sing and dance  
 Thou would'st be fee'd, I see, to make me sport.  
 York cannot speak unless he wear a crown.

70. What<sup>1</sup> . . . king?<sup>2</sup>] omitted Q. 71-77 Was't you . . . And where's  
 . . . crook-back . . . mutinies?<sup>2</sup>] 58-64 Was it you . . . Or where is  
 Crookback? . . . mutinies?<sup>2</sup> Q 78-85 Or, with . . . stain'd . . . with the  
 . . . the boy . . . deadly . . . state] 65-72 Or amongst . . . dipt . . . in the  
 . . . thy boy . . . much . . . state? Q 86-88 I prithee . . . Rutland's death?<sup>2</sup>] 73-76 I prithee . . . Yorke?<sup>2</sup> Stamp . . . dance (l 91 transposed) . . .  
 Rutland's death?<sup>2</sup> Q 89-90 Why art thou . . . thee thus] omitted Q 91  
 Stamp . . . dance] 74 Stamp . . . dance Q 92-95 Thou would'st . . .  
 Hold you . . . it on] 77-80 Thou wouldst . . . So . . . hold . . . it on Q

71 revell'd] rioted  
 72 preachment] sermon Not again  
 in Shakespeare, Marlowe has it twice  
 in *Edward II*, but it was an old word,  
 illustrated in *New Eng Dict* back to  
 1330 and 1400

73 mess] set of four. See *Love's  
 Labour's Lost*, iv iii 204, in this  
 edition, and note

75 crook-back] "crookback vil-  
 lane" has occurred already in *First  
 Contention*, v ii 59, but not in Part  
 II Grafton in *Continuation of*

*Hardyng* (468), 1543, says of Richard  
 "he was lytle of stature, euill feautured  
 of lymms, *croke backed*, the left shulder  
 much higher then the right, harde fau-  
 oured of . . . warlike visage"

91 Stamp . . . dance] The trans-  
 position of this line from its position  
 after "make me merry, York" (86) in  
 the Quarto in consequence of the addi-  
 tion of the two new lines, "Why art  
 thou . . . mock thee thus" (89, 90)  
 has been a disputed point. Malone  
 replaced it

A crown for York! and, lords, bow low to him  
 Hold you his hands whilst I do set it on. 95  
*[Puts a paper crown on his head.]*  
 Ay, marry, sir, now looks he like a king!  
 Ay, this is he that took King Henry's chair  
 And this is he was his adopted heir  
 But how is it that great Plantagenet  
 Is crown'd so soon, and broke his solemn oath? 100  
 As I bethink me, you should not be king  
 Till our King Henry had shook hands with death.  
 And will you pale your head in Henry's glory,  
 And rob his temples of the diadem,  
 Now in his life, against your holy oath? 105  
 O! 'tis a fault too too unpardonable  
 Off with the crown, and, with the crown, his head,  
 And, whilst we breathe, take time to do him dead

95 *Puts* . . ] omitted Q, Ff 96-100. *Ay, marry, sir, now* *king!*  
*Ay, this . . . solemn oath?* 81-85. *I now . . . King?* *This . . . holy oath,*  
*Q* 101-108. *As I bethinke . . . pale your head in . . . do him dead?* 86-93.  
*As I bethinke . . . Till our Henry . . . impale your head with . . . doe him*  
*dead Q*

95. *paper crown*] The passage quoted from Hall at the death of Rutland above (Scene iii 1 47) continues "Yet this cruell Clifford, and deadly bloud supper not content with this horrcyde, or chylid killyng, came to ye place wher the dead corps of the duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stryken of, and set on it a *croune of paper*, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene, not lyeng farre from the felde . . . but many laughed then that sore lamented after" (p. 251, ed. 1809). This paper crown is referred to again in *Richard III* i iii 175

100-102 *broke his . . . oath . . . death*] Holinshed writes here (iii 269, ed. 1808). "Manie deemed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of York, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiance unto his Soueraigne lord King Henrie but others held him discharged thereof, because he obtained a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adjudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduisedly, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie" . . . "A purchase of Gods curse with the popes blessing" (margin).

101, 102 *As I bethinke . . . with death*] Margaret quotes here Suffolk's words to her in *Contention*, about the murder of the good Duke Humphrey (iii. 1 116-118) —

"And so thinke I, Madame  
 If our King Henry had shooke  
 hands with death,  
 Duke Humphrey then would looke  
 to be our King"

See note at 2 *Henry VI* iii. 1. 265. Peele comes near it with "shook hands with sin," in *David and Bethsabe*. Seems to have escaped Schmidt. Shakespeare quoting his own words from *The Contention* into the finished 3 *Henry III* is an interesting phenomenon

103 *pale*] enclose in the pale or circle of a crown. The same as "impale" below, iii 11 171, and iii 111. 189. Compare *Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. vii. 74. Elsewhere "pales in"

106 *too too*] A very common mode of intensification at this time and earlier

108 *do him dead*] Not again in Shakespeare "Done to death" and "do him to dye" are frequent in Spenser, and the latter is in Chaucer. Spenser has "doe her dye" (*Faerie Queene*, i viii 45) Compare "dead-



*Clif* That is my office, for my father's sake

*Q Mar* Nay, stay, let's hear the orisons he makes 110

*York* She-wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,

Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth!

How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex

To triumph like an Amazonian trull,

Upon their woes whom fortune captivates! 115

But that thy face is, vizard-like, unchanging,

Made impudent with use of evil deeds,

I would assay, proud queen, to make thee blush.

To tell thee whence thou cam'st, of whom derived,

Were shame enough to shame thee, wert thou not shameless 120

Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,

Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,

Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman

Hath that poor monarch taught thee to insult?

It needs not, nor it boots thee not, proud queen, 125

Unless the adage must be verified,

That beggars mounted run their horse to death

109, 110. *That is* . sake *Q Mar* *Nay, stay, let's* . . makes] 94, 95.  
*Thats* . . death *Queen* *Yet stay and lets* . makes *Q* 111-118. *She-*  
*wolf* . . poisons . . their woes with use . blush ] 96-103 *She wolfe*  
 . . poison'd . . his woes by use . . blush *Q* 119-129 *To . .*  
*derived, Were* . both the . needs not, nor knows . . small] 104-114.  
*To tell thee of whence thou art, from whom derude, Twere* . both the & . .  
*needes not, or* . that oft makes wots . small *Q*

doing hand" (*Faerie Queene*, II III 8)

At III x 32 is found "But soone he shall be found, and shortly doen be dead" And again later. "Dead-doing" is nearer "Do" means make, or cause to be See note at II i 103 below.

110 *orisons*] prayers Five times in Shakespeare

112. *poisons* . . *adder's tooth*] See again 2 *Henry VI* III ii 76, *Richard II* III ii 20, and *Richard III* I ii 19

113 *ill-beseeming*] undecorous See 1 *Henry VI* iv. i 31, and later in 2 *Henry IV* and *Romeo and Juliet* Unhyphenated in Quartos and 1 *Henry VI*. See note at the latter reference See, too, *Cymbeline*, v. v 409 And "well-beseeming" in 1 *Henry IV* I iii. 267, and in *Titus Andronicus*. Shakespeare affected the word "beseem," and compounds of it

114 *trull*] See 1 *Henry VI* II ii. 28 "Strumpet" usually, here rather a ramp or female bravo.

115 *captivates*] subdues, captures See *Love's Labour's Lost*, III 126, and *Venus and Adonis*, 281 This verb is several times in *Lochnire* See Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, II i 131 —

"Thus hath he tane my body by his force,  
 And now by sleight would captivate my soule"

116 *vizard-like*] as expressively fixed as a mask

121 *type*] badge Compare *Richard III* iv iv 244 The crown. But perhaps used for title

127. *beggars* . . *death*] A proverb found in a variety of shapes "Set a beggar on horse backe theie saie, and hee will neuer alight" (*Greene, Carde of Fancie* (Grosart, iv. 102), 1587), and repeated in *Greene's Orpharion*, a

'Tis beauty that doth oft make women proud ;  
 But, God he knows, thy share thereof is small  
 'Tis virtue that doth make them most admired , 130  
 The contrary doth make thee wonder'd at  
 'Tis government that makes them seem divine ;  
 The want thereof makes thee abominable  
 Thou art as opposite to every good  
 As the Antipodes are unto us, 135  
 Or as the south to the Septentrion.  
 O tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide !  
 How could'st thou drain the life-blood of the child,  
 To bid the father wipe his eyes withal,  
 And yet be seen to bear a woman's face ? 140  
 Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible,  
 Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.  
 Bidd'st thou me rage ? why, now thou hast thy wish  
 Would'st thou have me weep ? why, now thou hast thy will.

130-140 'Tis virtue that doth . . . 'Tis government . . . abominable . . .  
 woman's hide ! . . . woman's face ? ] 115-125 'Tis government that makes . . .  
 'Tis virtue . . . abominable . . . womans hide ? . . . womans face ? Q.  
 141-149. Women are soft, mild Thou rough . . . wish . . . now  
 thou will . . . wind . . . showers, And . . . cries . . . death, 'Gainst  
 . . . Frenchwoman ] 126-134. Women are milde Thou indurate, sterne,  
 rough . . . will . . . So thou . . . wish . . . windes blowes up a storme of  
 teares, And . . . begs vengeance as it fals, On . . . French woman Q

reflash of the former (xii 36). The  
 proverb is in Cyril Tourneur's *Re-  
 vengers Tragedy*, Lord *Cromwell*,  
 Jonson's *Staple of News*, Camden's  
*Remaines*, Motteux's *Don Quixote*, etc  
 Peacham has that old verse —

"Asperius nihil est humili, cum  
 surgit in altum,  
 There's nothing more perverse and  
 proud than She,  
 Who is to Wealth advanced from  
 Beggary"

(*Worth of a Penny*, 1641 (Arber's *Eng-  
 lish Garner*, vi 260)) That old verse  
 is from Claudian

131 The contrary doth] Compare  
 here *I Henry VI.* v v 62-64.

132 government] seemingly manners  
 and discipline

136 Septentrion] North. Not again  
 in Shakespeare This line is recalled  
 in *Soliman and Perseda*, iii iv 5  
 "From East to West, from South to  
 Septentrion."

137. O tiger's heart . . .] The famous  
 line made use of by Greene in his at-

tack upon Shakespeare in the *Groats-  
 worth of Wit* (Grosart, xii 144) See  
 Introduction Nashe has a familiar  
 expression "An apes hart with a  
 lions case" (*Terrors of the Night*  
 (Grosart, iii 231), 1593), in which he  
 probably recalled Spenser's *Mother  
 Hubbard's Tale* Malone quotes  
 from *Acolastus his Afterwitte*, 1600 .  
 "O woolvish hart, wrapp'd in a  
 woman's hide," an obvious recollec-  
 tion of this See Introduction to Part II

142 obdurate] See *2 Henry VI* iv  
 vii. 114, in this ed Always so accented  
 in Shakespeare It does not occur in  
*First Contention*, and here the *True  
 Tragedie* (Q) has "indurate" Marlowe  
 has "Might have entreated your ob-  
 durate breasts" in *Tamburlaine*, Part  
 I. v 1 (Dyce, 31, a), and the same  
 expression occurs in Sylvester's *Du  
 Bartas* (ed 1621, p. 37) "One single  
 sigh from thy obdurate brest" (1591)  
 Marlowe's use is the earliest, applied  
 to persons, in *New Eng Dict* "In-  
 durate" was older.

For raging wind blows up incessant showers, 145  
 And when the rage allays, the rain begins  
 These tears are my sweet Rutland's obsequies,  
 And every drop cries vengeance for his death,  
 'Gainst thee, fell Clifford, and thee, false Frenchwoman.  
*North* Beshrew me, but his passions move me so 150  
 That hardly can I check my eyes from tears.  
*York.* That face of his the hungry cannibals  
 Would not have touch'd, would not have stain'd with blood;  
 But you are more inhuman, more inexorable,  
 O, ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania 155  
 See, ruthless queen, a hapless father's tears  
 This cloth thou dipp'dst in blood of my sweet boy,  
 And I with tears do wash the blood away  
 Keep thou the napkin, and go boast of this,  
 And if thou tell'st the heavy story right, 160

150, 151. *Beshrew* . . . so *That* . . . *tears*] 135, 136 *Beshrew* . . . *passions*  
*move me so, As mine eyes . . . teares* Q. 152-155 *That face* . . . *Would*  
*not* . . . *Hyrcania*] 137-140 *That face* . . . *Could not* . . . *Arcadia* Q.  
156-166 *See, ruthless* . . . *And I* . . . *do wash* . . . *of this* . . . *tell'st* . .

145 *incessant*] See Part I. v iv  
 154 (note) Spenser has it similarly —  
 "What hart so stoney hard but  
 that would weepe

And poure forthe fountaines of  
*incessant teares*?"

(*Daphnusa*, st 36, 1591) The  
 Quarto has "a storme of teares"

152 *cannibals*] Again in *Othello*,  
 I iii 143 See note in this edition.

153 *Would . . . blood*] The second  
 folio reads "Would not have stayn'd  
 the roses just with blood" after  
 "toucht," dividing the lines differently.  
 This variation has caused many con-  
 jectural readings, all departing from the  
 original texts

154 *inexorable*] Again in *Romeo*  
 and *Fulset*, and (as a modern reading  
 of "inexorable") in *Merchant of*  
*Venice* The word is in Puttenham  
 "An *inexorable* and unfaithful mis-  
 tress" (Arber, p. 226)

155. *tigers of Hyrcania*] "the  
 Hyrcan tiger" occurs in *Macbeth*,  
 III. iv 101, and "the Hyrcanian  
 beast" in *Hamlet*, II ii 472. Also in  
*Selimus* (Grosart's Greene, xiv. 239) —

"But thou wast borne in desert  
 Caucasus,  
 And the *Hyrcanian tygres* gaue  
 thee sucke."

Earlier than these is Sylvester's *Du*  
*Bartas*. "African Panthers, *Hyrcan*  
*Tigres* fierce, Cleonian Lions, and  
 Pannonian Bears" (The Sixth Day of  
 the First Week, p 123, 1591). And  
 earlier in Timothie Kendall, *Flowers*  
*of Epigrammes*, 1577 "A Tiger of the  
 Hyrcan stocke" (rept p 20) Eden  
 pointed out the confusion between  
 Hyrcania and Herecynia. The Cas-  
 pian Sea was known as Hyrcanum.  
 See Richard Eden's *Of the North-east*  
*Frosted Seas*, 1555 (Hakluyt Soc  
 1852) Chiefly from Paulus Jovius  
 The Quarto reading is an odd misprint  
 156. *ruthless queen*] Marlowe has  
 "our *ruthless* governor" (*Tambur-*  
*laine*, Part I v 1, ed. Dyce, 32, a)

157 *dipp'dst*] Compare "meant-  
 est," 2 *Henry VI* III ii. 222, and  
 "suckedst," 1 *Henry VI* v iv 28  
 See Introduction on this inflection,  
 due to prevalence of "thou" and  
 "thee"

160 *tell'st the heavy story right*]  
 Compare Machin's *Dumb Knight* —

"When the sad nurse, to still the  
 wrangling babe,  
 Shall sing the careful story of my  
 death,  
 Give me a sigh"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, x. 155). See

Upon my soul, the hearers will shed tears ;  
Yea, even my foes will shed fast-falling tears,  
And say " Alas ! it was a piteous deed."

There, take the crown, and with the crown my curse,  
And in thy need such comfort come to thee 165

As now I reap at thy too cruel hand !  
Hard-hearted Clifford, take me from the world ,  
My soul to heaven, my blood upon your heads !

*North* Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin,  
I should not for my life but weep with him, 170  
To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul.

*Q. Mar.* What, weeping-ripe, my Lord Northumberland ?  
Think but upon the wrong he did us all,  
And that will quickly dry thy melting tears.

*Clif.* Here's for my oath ; here's for my father's death 175  
[*Stabbing him.*

*Q. Mar.* And here's to right our gentle-hearted king.  
[*Stabbing him.*

*York.* Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God !  
My soul flies through these wounds to seek out Thee.  
[*Dies.*

*right . . . Yea . . . There, take . . . too cruel hand !* 141-151 *See ruthless*  
*. . . And loe . . . I wash . . . of that . . . tell . . . well . . . I (Ay) .*  
*Here, take . . . two cruell hands* Q 167, 168. *Hard-hearted . . . heads*  
153-153 *Hard-harted . . . heads* Q 169-171. *Had . . . soul* 154-156. *Had*  
*he bin . . . of all . . . I could not chuse but weep . . . How . . . his hart* Q.  
172-180 *What, weeping-ripe . . . thy melting . . . Here's . . . here's . .*  
*And here's . . . gentle-hearted king . . . gate of . . . flies . . . Thee . .*  
*town of York* 157-165 *What weeping ripe . . . your melting . . . Thears*  
*. thears . . . And thears . . . gentle hearted kind . . . gates of . . . flies*  
*foorth to meet with thee . . . towne of York. Exeunt Omnes* Q. [*Stabbing*  
*. Stabbing . . . Dies*] omitted Q, Ff

*Richard III.* i. ii. 155-166 on these lines, and note in this edition The standers-by, at the story, " wet their cheeks like trees bedash'd with rain "

169. *slaughter-man*] See Part I. iii iii. 75 (note). In Q It occurs in *A Manifest Detection of the . . . use of Dice-play* (Percy reprint, p. 8), 1532 (?) " Go to, say on, lo' how gentle lambs are led to the *slaughter-man's* fold "

171 *inly*] inward Occurs again *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii vii 18. Elsewhere an adverb But the distinction is not a sound one

171 *sorrow gripes his soul*] Recalls a line in *The First Part of Contention*,

omitted in 2 *Henry VI.* See note, Part II ii iii 21

172. *weeping-ripe*] Occurs again in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v ii 274 See note in this edition Earlier in Sidney's *Arcadia* Shakespeare has also " sinking-ripe " and " reeling-ripe "

176 *king*] *kind* in Q is one of many printer's errors in old texts.

179. *Off with his head*] Occurred earlier in *Contention* at the murder of Suffolk (2 *Henry VI* iv i. 103) It is in *Richard III.* several times. See above, i iv 107, and below, ii. vi. 85. And in *Soliman and Perseda*, v iv. 112 " *Off with his head* and suffer him

*Q Mar.* Off with his head, and set it on York gates

So York may overlook the town of York.

180

[*Flourish Exeunt*

not to speake" Earliest in *Contention*, and due to Shakespeare. Greene has the phrase in *Selimus*

179, 180 *Off with his head . . . York*] "After this victory by ye Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to bee sent to Pomfret and

there to be behedded, and sent all their heddes, and the dukes head of Yorke, to be set upon poles, ouer the gate of the cite of Yorke in despite of them and their lignage" (Hall, p. 251, ed 1809). See II i 65 And see extract at II. v. 125 for more about York's head

## ACT II

SCENE I — *A Plain near Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire.**A March. Enter EDWARD, RICHARD, and their power*

*Edw.* I wonder how our princely father 'scaped,  
 Or whether he be 'scaped away or no  
 From Clifford's and Northumberland's pursuit.  
 Had he been ta'en we should have heard the news;  
 Had he been slain we should have heard the news;      5  
 Or had he 'scaped, methinks we should have heard  
 The happy tidings of his good escape.  
 How fares my brother? why is he so sad?  
*Rich* I cannot joy until I be resolv'd  
 Where our right valiant father is become.      10

<sup>1</sup>*A March*] *Ff*, omitted *Q.*      *Enter . . .* *Ff*, *Enter Edward and Richard, with drum and Souldiers Q.*      1-7 *I wonder how . . . good escape*] omitted *Q.*  
 8. *How . . . sad?* 1, 2 *Edw.* *After this dangerous fight and haplesse warre*  
*How doth my noble brother Richard fare?* *Q.*      9, 10. *Rich.* *I cannot . . . is become*] 3, 4. *Rich.* *I cannot . . . is become Q.*

1. *I wonder . . .*] When Shakespeare wrote a new opening for the older one, in this scene, as he frequently does in these two plays, he perhaps forgot the almost identical first line of the first Act—which was in *Q.*

4-6 *Had he . . . Had he . . . Or had he*] The repetition of the initial words in poetical lines was carried to great excess at this time and earlier. In this play see Act II., Scene v., where (as here) it is part of the finished play, not the Quarto version. For examples see Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), p. 102, reprint, where fourteen lines have same beginnings. Gascoigne's *Steel Glas* is loaded with the trick. Spenser abounds in iterations and repetitions, but in a more measured manner, and with due regard to eloquence.

10 *is become*] where he is, or is to be found, where he has got to. A frequent form in early writers, that Schmidt seems puzzled about. Golding has "to have a knowledge where *She is become*" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, v 646), and—

"Tell where . . . the wench . . .  
 That stooode righte nowe upon this shore . . . *is become*"  
 (viii 1067). And Grafton, *Richard the Second* (rept. i 416) "They sente forth their Currours, to knowe where they were become." And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. x 16 "The deare Charissa, where is she become" And earlier in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 529, 1543

I saw him in the battle range about,  
 And watch'd him how he singled Clifford forth.  
 Methought he bore him in the thickest troop  
 As doth a lion in a herd of neat;  
 Or as a bear, encompass'd round with dogs, 15  
 Who having pinch'd a few and made them cry,  
 The rest stand all aloof and bark at him.  
 So fared our father with his enemies,  
 So fled his enemies my war-like father  
 Methinks 'tis prize enough to be his son. 20  
 See how the morning opes her golden gates,

11-14 I saw him . As doth in a . neat] 5, 6 How often did I  
 see him beare himselfe, As doth . midst . neat Q 15-18 Or as a  
 . . . enemies] omitted Q 19, 20 So fled . . my war-like . . prize  
 son] 7, 8. So fled . our valiant . pride . . sonne Three sonnes appeare  
 in the arre Q. 21-25 See how . . glorious sun, How . love Edw.  
 Dazzle . . suns ?] 9-11 Edw. Loe how glorious sun, Dasell . .  
 suns ? Q

12 singled . forth] Not in Q See  
 note at "singled," below, II. iv 1

\*13. thickest troop] Not in Q, nor  
 again in Shakespeare But at II. iii. 16  
 in Quarto we have "in the thickest  
 thronges" omitted from the present  
 play *Quid pro quo* See also *Con-  
 tention* at the end, where it is also  
 omitted. And again in this play at v.  
 iv 49 It occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia*,  
 and in Marlowe Kyd has —

"Don Balthazar amidst the thickest  
 troopes

To winne renowne did wondrous  
 feats of armes"

(*Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii 61) The pas-  
 sage in Marlowe, in *Tamburlaine*, Part  
 II. iii. 11. (Dyce, 56, a) —

"run desperate through the  
 thickest thronges,

Dreadless of blows,"

and in iv 1. (61, a) —

"he himself amidst the thick-  
 est troopes,

Beats down our foes"

14 lion in an herd] So Spenser,  
*Faerie Queene*, vi xi 49 —

"Like as a lion mongst an heard  
 of dere . .

So did he fly amongst them here  
 and there."

"A heird of Neate" occurs in Gold-  
 ing's *Ovid*, II 1051 Neat are oxen.

16 pinch'd] bitten See note at the  
 substantive, I *Henry VI* iv 11 49.  
 Spenser uses this verb Golding has —

"First Slo did pinch him by the  
 haunch, and next came Kildeere  
 in,

And Hylbred fastned on his  
 shoulder, bote him through the  
 skinne"

(III 280, 281), and again —

"The Grewnd pursuing at an inch  
 Doth cote him, neuer losing  
 ground. and likely still to  
 pinch"

(VII 1018)

20 prize] "pride" of Quartos is pre-  
 ferable But compare "prize" (privi-  
 lege) above, I iv. 59

21-24 the morning . prancing  
 to his love] A variously put metaphor.  
 See Psalm xix 4, 5, and *Faerie Queene*,  
 I v 2, where the "golden orientall  
 gate" occurs —

"And Phoebus, fresh as bryde-  
 groomme to his mate,

Came dauncing forth"

And Peele, *David and Bethsabe* (473,  
 a), where Dyce gives the reference to  
 Spenser, as Jortin does on *Faerie  
 Queene* to the Psalm, a reference given  
 much earlier by Sylvester (1621 ed p  
 85) in a marginal note to the lines in  
 Fourth Day of the First Week of *Du  
 Bartas* (1591) —

"Thou seem'st (O Titan) like a  
 Bride-groomme brave,

Who from his chamber early  
 issuing out

In rich array," etc.

And takes her farewell of the glorious sun ,  
How well resembles it the prime of youth,  
Trimm'd like a younker prancing to his love.

*Edw.* Dazzle mine eyes, or do I see three suns? 25

*Rich.* Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun ;  
Not separated with the racking clouds,  
But sever'd in a pale clear-shining sky.  
See, see ! they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,  
As if they vow'd some league inviolable . 30  
Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.  
In this the heaven figures some event

23, 24 *How well . . . love*] omitted Q 26-32 *Three . . . suns, each . . . sun, Not . . . with the . . . clouds, But . . . inviolable Now . . . figures some event*] 12-18. *Three . . . suns, not . . . by a . . . cloud, but . . . inviolate Now . . . heavens doth figure some event* Q

Warton's note to *Faerie Queene* picks the figure to pieces in the most approved and dry-as-dustiest way

22 *takes her farewell*] "Aurora takes for a time her farewell of the sun, when she dismisses him to his diurnal course" (Johnson)

23 *the prime of youth*] Compare "In prime of youthly yeares" (*Faerie Queene*, I ii 35)

24. *younker*] Again in *Henry IV* III iii. 92. Spenser (or rather E K's glo's) has the word "disdainfull younkers" in *The Shepheard's Calender*, Februarie (1579)

25 *Dazzle mine eyes*] are my eyes dazzled or dimmed Compare Golding's *Ovid*, v 87 "Atys lay with dim and dazeling eyes" And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II xi. 40—

"His wonder far exceeded reasons reach,  
That he began to doubt his dazeled sight."

Peele has it twice in *Arraignment of Paris*. See also *Loecme*, I 1. This line is copied in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. 1. 244. "Dasell mine eyes, or ist Lucinas chaine?"

25 *three suns*] The chroniclers place this portent before Mortimer's Cross After the death of his father, "the Duke of Yorke called Erle of Marche . . . met with his enemies in a fayre plaine, neere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford East, on Candlemasse day in the mornyng, at which tyme the Sunne (as some write) appered to the Erle of Marche like *three Sunnes*, and sodainely ioyned all together in

one, and that upon the sight thereof, he tooke such courage, that he fiercely set on his enemyes, and them shortly discomfited for which cause, men imagined that he gaue the sunne in his full brightness for his Cognisance or Badge" (Grafton, I. 672). Boswell Stone says. "According to Chron Rich. II.—Henry VI (Camden Society), the *three suns* were seen about 10 A.M., on 2nd February, 1461, and the battle of Mortimer's Cross was fought on the following day" History is not adhered to in this scene there is no room for the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and Edward was at Gloucester when he heard of his father's death. There is much confusion of events

27 *racking clouds*] clouds packing and scudding before the wind Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. iii. (Dyce, 65, a) "draw My chariot swifter than the *racking clouds*" Steevens quotes from *The Raigne of King Edward III* (1569) —

"like inconstant clouds

That, rack'd upon the carriage of  
the winds,  
Encrease," etc

The noun is commoner and occurs in the Sonnets and elsewhere, but the verb only here

30 *inviolable*] Better sense and worse metre than "involate" (Q). See again *King John*, v ii 7, *Richard III*. II 1 27 Peelf (543, b) uses "keep it *involate*" (of an oath) Marlowe has "true *involate*" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II 1 1)

32. *figures*] reveals, discloses. Com-



*Edw.* 'Tis wondrous strange, the like yet never heard of.

I think it cites us, brother, to the field,

That we, the sons of brave Plantagenet,

Each one already blazing by our meeds,

Should notwithstanding join our lights together,

And over-shine the earth, as this the world.

Whate'er it bodes, henceforward will I bear

Upon my target three fair-shining suns

*Rich* Nay, bear three daughters by your leave I speak it,

You love the breeder better than the male

*Enter a Messenger*

But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretell

Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue ?

*Mess* Ah, one that was a woeful looker-on

Whenas the noble Duke of York was slain,

Your princely father and my loving lord !

*Edw* O, speak no more, for I have heard too much.

*Rich* Say how he died, for I will hear it all.

*Mess* Environed he was with many foes,

And stood against them, as the hope of Troy

Against the Greeks that would have enter'd Troy

But Hercules himself must yield to odds ;

33 'Tis . . . heard of] omitted Q 34-36 I think it . . . Plantagenet,  
Each . . . blazing meeds] 18-20 *Edw* I think it Plantagenet,  
Alreadie, each one shining by his meed Q 37-40 Should will I bear  
. . . suns] 21-23. May I come in one and over peer the world, As this the earth,  
and therefore hence forward I'll bear suns Q 41, 42. *Rich*. Nay . .  
male] omitted Q 42 *Enter* ] omitted Q, *Enter one blowing* Ff. 43,  
44 But . . . tongue ?] 24 (*Edw*) But what art thou ? that lookest so heavilie ? Q  
45, 46 *Mess* Ah, one slain] 25, 26 *Mess* Oh one . . . slain Q. 47  
Your . . . lord] omitted Q 48 O, speak . . . have much] 27 O speak  
. . . can heare no more Q 49. Say . . . for all] 28 Tell on thy tale, for  
. . . all Q 50-59 Environed . . . Who crown'd . . . despise] 29-34. When

part 2 *Henry IV.* III. i. 81, and  
*Richard III* i. ii. 194.

34 cites] urges, incites See Part  
II. III. ii. 281

36 meeds] merits Johnson in-  
cautiously suggested "deeds."

40 target] targe, shield

40 shining] This word occurs three  
times in ten lines in Q. One is elimin-  
ated here by "blazing" (36) But  
"over-shine," instead of "over-peer"  
(of Q), somewhat defeats the amelior-  
ation, but Shakespeare had a great  
liking for forming verbs with the prefix  
"over." In this sense not again in  
Shakespeare

40, 41 suns . . . daughters] See *Love's*  
*Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 168-171 (in this  
edition, note)

50 Environed ] See above, i. i.  
242 "The trembling lamb environed  
with wolves" "Environed about"  
was more usual.

51 the hope of Troy] Hector, as at  
iv viii 25 below See note at *Henry*  
*VI* ii. iii. 19. Hector and Hercules  
were Shakespeare's favourite heroes  
These lines are not in the Quarto

53 Hercules . . . odds] An old Latin  
proverb in Aulus Gellius "Ne Her-  
cules quidem contra duos" Lodge  
quotes it in *Euphues Golden Legacie*

And many strokes, though with a little axe,  
 Hew down and fell the hardest-timber'd oak 55  
 By many hands your father was subdu'd;  
 But only slaughter'd by the ireful arm  
 Of unrelenting Clifford and the queen,  
 Who crown'd the gracious duke in high despite,  
 Laugh'd in his face, and, when with grief he wept, 60  
 The ruthless queen gave him to dry his cheeks  
 A napkin steeped in the harmless blood  
 Of sweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain.  
 And after many scorns, many foul taunts,  
 They took his head, and on the gates of York 65  
 They set the same, and there it doth remain,  
 The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd.

as the noble Duke was put to flight, And then pursu'd by Clifford and the Queene, And manie souldiers moe, who all at once Let drive at him and forst the Duke to yield And then they set him on a molehill there, And crown'd . . . despite Q 60-63 Laugh'd blood Of . . . slain ] 35-39½ Who then with teares began to waile his fall The ruthlesse Queene perceiuing he did weepe, Gaue him a handkercher to wipe his eyes, Dapt in the bloude of . . . slaine Q 64-67. And after . . . I view'd] 39½-44 who weeping tooke it vp, Then through his brest they thrust their bloody swordes, Who like a lambe fell at the butcher's feete. Then on the gates of Yorke they set his head, And there it doth remaine the piteous spectacle That ere mine eyes beheld Q

(Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library, p 96), 1590. And Greene, *Art of Conny Catching* Grosart, v 60), 1591 "But might overcomes right, and therefore Ne Hercules contra duos" See also Greene's *George a Greene* (Dyce, 1874, p 259) This line is in Q at v. ii 33 See note

54, 55 many strokes . . . fell the . . . oak] An old proverb. See Lyly's *Euphues* (Arber, p 91), 1579 "Soft drops of frame perce the hardest marble, many strokes overthrow the tallest oke." And in Whitney's *Emblems*, To the Reader (ed Greene, p 13), 1586 "Manie dropes perce the stone, & with manie blowes the oke is overthrowen." It is in *The Spanish Tragedy*, taken from Watson See note at iii. ii 50 below

55. hardest - timber'd] Compare "clean - timbered," *Love's Labour's Lost*, v ii. 629, and see note in this edition

57 ireful] See note to *1 Henry VI* iv. vi 16. And its Introduction Only in Shakespeare's early work

58 unrelenting] See *1 Henry VI*. v. iv. 59. Also in *Titus Andronicus*.

Sylvester has "unrelenting eyes" in *Du Bartas*, Seventh Day of the First Week, p 152, 1591 Earlier in Peele? 59 Who crown'd] For the line in Q "And then they set him on a molehill here," see below, ii v 14 "Here, on this molehill will I set me down" The molehill is removed farther from i. iv. 67 65 head York] See at i. iv. 179, 180.

66 They set the same] A note in the Irving Shakespeare (by Mr F. A. Marshall) points out the use of this circumlocution several times in Marlowe, in Greene's *Alphonsus* (twenty-one times), and (earliest) in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (four times) It is extremely common in Shakespeare's earliest work (see Schmidt), and was a sign of the time, not an evidence of authorship It occurs nine times in this trilogy and *Richard III*. See next note for Spenser's use

67 The saddest . . . that e're] A Spenserian line. See Introduction to Part I. "Piteous spectacle" of Q is a favourite expression with Spenser He has it in *Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 37, ii.

*Edw* Sweet Duke of York ! our prop to lean upon,  
 Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no stay  
 O Clifford, boisterous Clifford ! thou hast slain 70  
 The flower of Europe for his chivalry ;  
 And treacherously hast thou vanquish'd him,  
 For hand to hand he would have vanquish'd thee.  
 Now my soul's palace is become a prison  
 Ah, would she break from hence, that this my body 75

68, 69. *Sweet . . . gone . . . stay*] 45, 46 *Sweet* *gone there is no hope*  
*for us Q.* 70-73. *O Clifford . . . vanquish'd thee*] omitted *Q* 74-78  
*Now . . . prison . . . more joy*] 47-49 *Now . . . prison* *Oh would she breake*  
*from compasse of my breast, For never shall I haue more iore Q*

xii 45, iv. iii. 21, etc And in *Astro-  
 phel*, st. 34 (1586-7).—

"And when that piteous spectacle  
 they vewed  
 The same with bitter teares they  
 all bedewed"

See below, ii. v. 73

68, 69 *Sweet . . . stay*] Compare  
*Tamburlaine*, Part I i. 1 (Dyce, 8, a) —  
 "The hope of Persia and the very  
 legs

Whereon our state doth lean as on  
 a staff"

Furnival (Introduction to Facsimile)  
 points out that these two lines are  
 found in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*,  
 iii. iii. (Dyce, 243, b), (reading Guise  
 for York, and the last half line slightly  
 altered) Of the two I believe Marlowe  
 is the later.

70. *boisterous*] The strong sense of  
 "savage," appropriate here, is obso-  
 lete. Compare Hawes' *Pastime of*  
*Pleasure* (rept. p. 48).—

"Vylayne courage . . .

That is *boystrous* and rude of  
 governance"

And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. viii. 10  
 "His *boystrous* club" ("his dreadful  
 club" a few lines earlier)

71 *The flower . . . chivalry*] Compare  
 Grafton, *Edward the Thirde* (1  
 332) "Edward accompted the  
*Flower of all Chyualrye*, throughout  
 all the worlde, and also some writers  
 name him the black prince." And in  
 Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, p. 116  
 (1509), rept But it is more interesting  
 to find it in *Contention*, iv x, and  
 omitted from Part II.

73 *hand to hand*] Occurs again I  
*Henry IV* i. iii. 99, and below, ii v  
 56 In single combat. Earlier in *New*

*Eng. Dict* It occurs in *The Conten-  
 tion*, iv x 50 See *Spanish Tragedy*,  
 i. iii 63 —

"I saw him, *hand to hand*,  
 In single fight with their Lord  
 Generall"

Frequent in Berners' Froissart

73, 74, 77, 78 *vanquish'd him . . .*  
*vanquish'd thee* *joy again . . .*  
*more joy*] Here we have some very  
 limp iteration introduced that is not in  
 the Quarto—showing the futility of  
 hard and fast theories The latter  
 lines of this speech are much in Peele's  
 manner He probably considered him-  
 self, and indeed was something of an  
 adept at pathos (see *David and Beth-  
 sabe*), and may have been allotted a  
 finishing touch or two

74 *soul's palace . . . prison*] Peele  
 has this metaphor twice *Edward I.*  
*Sc. xxv* (411, a, Dyce, 1874) —

"First, in this painful prison of my  
 soul,  
 A world of dreadful sins help there  
 to fight",

and in *Battle of Alcazar*, Act v (439,  
 a) —

"Whose weapons have made pas-  
 sage for my soul

That breaks from out the prison of  
 my brest"

This is directly from *Tamburlaine*,  
 Part II iv 11 (63, b) —

"draw your sword,

Making a passage for this troubled  
 soul

Which beats against this prison to  
 get out."

But earlier in Lyly's *Campaspe* (1584),  
 i 11 "the bodie is the prison of the  
 soule . . . to make my bodie immortal,  
 I put it to prison."

Might in the ground be closed up in rest !  
 For never henceforth shall I joy again,  
 Never, O never, shall I see more joy !

*Rich* I cannot weep, for all my body's moisture  
 Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart , 80  
 Nor can my tongue unload my heart's great burthen ,  
 For self-same wind that I should speak withal  
 Is kindling coals that fires all my breast,  
 And burns me up with flames that tears would quench  
 To weep is to make less the depth of grief . 85  
 Tears then for babes , blows and revenge for me !  
 Richard, I bear thy name , I'll venge thy death,  
 Or die renowned by attempting it.

*Edw.* His name that valiant duke hath left with thee ;  
 His dukedom and his chair with me is left. 90

*Rich* Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,  
 Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun .  
 For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say ;  
 Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his

79, 80. *I cannot . . . body's . . . heart*] 50, 51 *I cannot . . . breasts . . . hart* Q. 81-88. *Nor can . . . Richard I'll venge . . . renowned . . . it*] 52-55 *I cannot rise till this white rose be dide, Euen in the hart bloud of the house of Lancaster Richard . . . and Ile reuenge . . . my selfe in seeking of reuenge* Q. 89, 90 *His . . . thee, His . . . left*] 56, 57 *His . . . thee, His chaise and Dukedome that remains for me* Q. 91-94 *Nay, if thou . . . say, Either . . . not his*] 58-61 *Nay, if thou . . . saie For either not his ? Q.*

76 *closed up in rest*] Shakespeare never uses "close up" (verb), except of the eyes, elsewhere.

79-87 *I cannot weep . . . venge thy death*] Neatly put in *Lochrine*, III. 1 60, 61 —

"He loves not most that doth lament the most,  
 But he that seeks to venge the injury"

The two omitted lines here are found almost repeated in *Contention* and thence to 2 *Henry VI* II II 64-66 See my note More continuity evidence

91 *princely eagle*] Marlowe calls it "princely fowl . . . of Iove" (*Tamburlaine*, Part II I. 1 (Dyce, 45, a)), and at IV III. (66, b), "drawn with *princely eagles*"

91. *bird*] young of any fowl See above, I. IV 36, and 1 *Henry IV*. v I. 60, and *Titus Andronicus*, II. III 154. Golding speaks of a nest of "eight byrdes" in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, XII. 15. And in IV 524 "bird" means child ("this harlots burd").

91, 92. *eagle's bird . . . gazing 'gainst the sun*] A very old fancy, arising no doubt from the eagle's powerful sight Marshall says Aristotle (lib. 20) is cited as an authority Pliny says (xxix 6, p 367, Holland's trans) "that Ægle (which I said heretofore, to prove and trie her yong birds, useth to force them for to look directly upon the sunne) . . . Haliartus, 1 the sea-Ægle or Orfray" (margin) He refers in this passage to bk. x ch. 3 Halliwell says "Chaucer alludes to this in the Assemblie of Foules" (his quotation is insufficient) He also quotes from Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, st 20. An early instance (1591) is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, p 112, The Fifth Day of the First Week —

"this Damsell .  
 Two tender Eaglets in a nest  
 espies,  
 Which 'gainst the sun sate trying  
 of their eyes"

*March* Enter WARWICK, MARQUESS OF MONTAGUE, and  
their army

*War.* How now, fair lords ! What fare ? what news abroad ? 95

*Rich.* Great Lord of Warwick, if we should recount

Our baleful news, and at each word's deliverance

Stab poniards in our flesh till all were told,

The words would add more anguish than the wounds.

O valiant lord, the Duke of York is slain ! 100

*Edw.* O Warwick ! Warwick ! that Plantagenet

Which held thee dearly as his soul's redemption,

Is by the stern Lord Clifford done to death.

*War.* Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears,

And now, to add more measure to your woes, 105

I come to tell you things sith then befallen.

After the bloody fray at Wakefield fought,

Where your brave father breath'd his latest gasp,

Tidings, as swiftly as the posts could run,

Were brought me of your loss and his depart 110

I, then in London, keeper of the king,

95 Enter . . . Montague . . . ] Enter the Earle of Warwike, Montague,  
with drum, ancient, and souldiers Q (March omitted), Enter . . . Montacute  
. . . Ff. 95-100 How now Great . . . recount Our baleful news . . .  
O valiant . . . slain ! ] 62-67. How now . . . Ah Warwike ? should we report  
the balefull Newes . . . Ah valiant . . . slaine Q. 101-103 O Warw'ck !  
. . . dearly as . . . death ] 68-70 Ah Warwike . . . deere I, euen as . . .  
death Q 104-110 Ten days . . . sith then . . . depart ] 71-77 Ten daies  
. . . those newes . . . since then . . . Was brought departure Q 111-  
119 I, then in . . . intercept . . . oath and your succession ] 78-86. I then in  
. . . intercept . . . your late . . . heires and your succession Q.

95. *What fare*] Not again in Shakespeare.

97, 98 *word's . . . Stab pomards*] Compare *Hamlet*, III ii 414, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. i. 255 "she speaks pomards and every word stabs"

103. *done to death*] See 2 *Henry VI* III ii 244, and below, III iii 103. Occurs again in *Much Ado About Nothing* And in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I iv. iv. (1578) "Is my Audrugio done to death" Slain See I. iv. 108

104. *drown'd . . . in tears*] A very favourite expression I find it about fifteen times in Shakespeare's plays. It is six times in the dubious *Titus Andronicus*, however.

108. *his latest gasp*] See again v ii. 41 below. "Last gasp" and "latter

gasp" also occur in the same sense See note at 1 *Henry VI* i. ii. 127. Peele has "the issue of thy damned ghost, Which with thy latest gasp theyll take and tear," in *David and Bethsabe*, sc x (479, a)

111 *et seq.* I, then in London . . . ]

Hall describes these events (252, rept) "The Quene still came forward with her Northern people, entending to subuerter and defaict all conclusions and agrementes, enacted and assented to in the last Parliament. And so after her long iorney she came to the town of Sainct Albons, whereof ye duke of Northfolke, ye erle of Warwycke, and other, whom ye duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, being advertised, by the assent of ye kyng, gathered together a great hoste,

Muster'd my soldiers, gather'd flocks of friends,  
 And very well appointed, as I thought,  
 March'd toward Saint Alban's to intercept the queen,  
 Bearing the king in my behalf along ; 115  
 For by my scouts I was advertised  
 That she was coming with a full intent  
 To dash our late decree in parliament,  
 Touching King Henry's oath and your succession.  
 Short tale to make, we at Saint Alban's met, 120  
 Our battles join'd, and both sides fiercely fought  
 But whether 'twas the coldness of the king,  
 Who look'd full gently on his war-like queen,  
 That robb'd my soldiers of their heated spleen ;  
 Or whether 'twas report of her success , 125  
 Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,  
 Who thunders to his captives blood and death,  
 I cannot judge but, to conclude with truth,  
 Their weapons like to lightning came and went ,  
 Our soldiers', like the night-owl's lazy flight, 130

120-132 *Short tale* Who look'd . her success . captives . . I  
 cannot judge . . like to lightning . struck their friends] 88 99. *Short-*  
*tail* He lookt . his successe . . captaines . I cannot tell .  
 smote their friends Q

and 'et forward toward Saint Albons,  
 hauyng the Kyng in their company,  
 as the head and cheftayn of the warre,  
 and so not mynding to differre the  
 time any further, vpon shrouetuesday  
 early in the morning, set upon their  
 enemies Fortune that day so fauored  
 the Quene, that her parte preuayled,  
 & the duke and the erle were discom-  
 fitted and fled . . after the victorie  
 obtayned, and the kyng broughte to  
 the Quene Happy was the Quene  
 in her two battayls but unfortunate  
 was the kyng in all his enterprises,  
 for where his person was present, ther  
 victory fled ever from him to the other  
 parte, and he commonly was subdued  
 & vanquished " See this passage con-  
 tinued at "dub him presently," below,  
 II. ii 59.

113 *And . thought*] Introduced  
 from Q by Steevens For "well ap-  
 pointed," see *1 Henry VI.* iv ii 21,  
 and Golding's Ovid "a traine Of well  
 appointed men of warre new leuied"  
 (vii 1121, 1122)

118. *dash*] frustrate Compare  
 Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*,

540 "thynkyng that by this means  
 al his purpose was dashed" (1543).

120 *Short tale to make*] Again in  
*Hamlet*, II ii 146 This expression  
 is in Gascoigne's *Steel Glas* (Arber, p.  
 50), 1576, and in Whetstone's *Promos*  
*and Cassandra*, Part I. III 1 (1578).  
 Later it is in Greene's *Groatworth of*  
*Wit* (Grosart, xii 122), in *The Trouble-*  
*some Raigne of King John*, and in  
 Peele's *Tale of Troy* See Grafton's  
*Continuation of Hardyng*, 461 (1543)  
 "but ye duke, to make a short tale,  
 would by no meanes deliuer them"

121 *Our battles join'd*] See above, I.  
 115

130 *night-owl*] Again in *Twelfth*  
*Night* and *Richard II* Shakespeare  
 has later a pleasant friendly tone to-  
 wards the owl, very much truer in  
 perception than his contemporaries.  
 Golding's "wicked wretch Nycty-  
 mince" passage (ii 742-752) perhaps  
 told on the poor bird heavily With  
 Spenser and Peele he is the "deathful  
 owl," the "ghastly owl," the "tragic  
 owl" Golding calls him elsewhere  
 "filthy fowl" from Ovid But Tar-

Or like an idle thresher with a flail,  
 Fell gently down, as if they struck their friends  
 I cheer'd them up with justice of our cause,  
 With promise of high pay and great rewards.  
 But all in vain, they had no heart to fight, 135  
 And we in them no hope to win the day,  
 So that we fled the king unto the queen,  
 Lord George your brother, Norfolk and myself,  
 In haste, post-haste, are come to join with you,  
 For in the marches here we heard you were, 140  
 Making another head to fight again

*Edw.* Where is the Duke of Norfolk, gentle Warwick?  
 And when came George from Burgundy to England?

*War.* Some six miles off the duke is with the soldiers,  
 And for your brother, he was lately sent 145  
 From your kind aunt, Duchess of Burgundy,  
 With aid of soldiers to this needful war.

*Rich.* 'Twas odds, belike, when valiant Warwick fled.  
 Oft have I heard his praises in pursuit,  
 But ne'er till now his scandal of retire 150

*War.* Nor now my scandal, Richard, dost thou hear,

133-141 *I cheer'd our cause . . . heart to fight, And we . . . fight again*  
 100-108 *I cheer'd . . . the cause . . . hearts to fight, Nor we . . . fight again* Q  
 142, 143. *Where is . . . And when . . . England?* 109-111 *Thanks, gentle*  
*Warwike, How farre hence is the Duke with his power? And when . . . Eng-*  
*land?* Q. 144-147 *Some six . . . the soldiers, And for to this need-*  
*ful war* 112-115 *Some five . . . his power, But as for . . . gainst this needfull*  
*warre* Q. 148-150 *'Twas odds . . . his praises . . . his scandal of retire* 116-  
 118 *'Twas ods . . . thy praises thy scandall of retire* Q 151-156 *Nor now*  
 . . . *this strong . . . prayer* 119-124. *Nor now . . . that this right . . . prayer* Q

quin, the night owl, catches the dove  
 in *Lucrece*

131. *an idle*] Corrects the "a lazy"  
 of the Folios. Inserted by Capell.

139 *haste, post-haste*] Written on  
 dispatches, and hence common in  
 poetry —

"he hath vouchsaf  
 In *hast, post hast*, to send  
 Me downe from heaven"

(Gascoign, *Princely Pleasures* (Nichols'  
*Progresses*, i 510, 1575) See *Othello*,  
 i 11 37

141. *Making another head*] Compare  
*Coriolanus*, iii 1. 1, and *1 Henry IV*.  
 iv. 1. 80 And see "gathered head,"  
*1 Henry VI*. i iv. 100 (note) It is a  
 technical expression in Machiavel's  
*Arte of Warre* (trans Whitehouse,  
 1560), Tudor reprint, p 84.

144 *the soldiers*] Theobald inserted  
 the better expression of the Quartos,  
 "his power"

143-146 *George from Burgundy*  
 . . . *kind aunt*] Hall accounts for  
 George's absence "The Duches of  
 Yorke . . . sent her two yonger sonnes,  
 George and Richard, ouer the sea,  
 to the cite of Utrecht in Almayn, where  
 they were of Philippe duke of Burgoyne  
 well receyued and fested, and so there  
 thei remayned, till their brother Ed-  
 warde had obteyned the Realme"  
 (253)

149. *Oft have I heard*] See note at  
 "Oft have I seen" in *2 Henry VI*.  
 iii. 11. 161. Occurs again in *Love's*  
*Labour's Lost*, *Richard III*, and *Titus*  
*Andronicus*, "Oft have you heard"

For thou shalt know this strong right hand of mine  
 Can pluck the diadem from faint Henry's head,  
 And wring the awful sceptre from his fist,  
 Were he as famous and as bold in war 155  
 As he is famed for mildness, peace, and prayer.

*Rich* I know it well, Lord Warwick, blame me not.  
 'Tis love I bear thy glories makes me speak  
 But in this troublous time what's to be done?  
 Shall we go throw away our coats of steel, 160  
 And wrap our bodies in black mourning gowns,  
 Numbering our Ave-Maries with our beads?  
 Or shall we on the helmets of our foes  
 Tell our devotion with revengeful arms?  
 If for the last, say ay, and to it, lords 165

*War* Why, therefore Warwick came to seek you out,  
 And therefore comes my brother Montague.  
 Attend me, lords The proud insulting queen,  
 With Clifford and the haught Northumberland,  
 And of their feather many moe proud birds, 170  
 Have wrought the easy-melting king like wax.  
 He swore consent to your succession,  
 His oath enrolled in the parliament;  
 And now to London all the crew are gone,

15, 165 *I know it . . . 'Tis . . . makes . . . wrap . . . ay, and to it, lords*  
 125-133 *I know it'. Twas . . . made . . . clad . . . I, and to it Lords Q.*  
 166-173 *Why . . . seek you . . . moe . . . swore . . . parliament* 134-141.  
*Why . . . find you . . . mo . . . swear . . . Parliament Q.* 174-177. *And*  
*now . . . frustrate . . . beside May . . . I think . . . strong* 142-145. *But*

156 *famed prayer*] See Part II  
 I iii. 54-59 (and notes) for King Henry's  
 disposition

160 *coats of steel*] See "steeled  
 coat," *1 Henry VI* I i 81. Spenser  
 has the expression here in *Faerie*  
*Queene*, I xi 9 —

"And over all with brasen scales  
 was armd,

Like plated cote of Steele"

It is in the description of that old  
 Dragon often referred to. Kyd uses  
 the term in *Cornelia*, v 1. 5 "Whose  
*coates of Steele* base Death hath stolne  
 into"

162 *Numbering . . . Ave-Maries*  
*. . . beads*] We have had this line in  
 Part II I iii 55. Compare Spenser's  
*Faerie Queene*, I i 35 —

"He tolde of Saintes and Popes,  
 and evermore

He strowde an Ave-Marie after  
 and before"

163, 164 *on the helmets . . . Tell*  
*our devotion*] Compare "write upon  
 thy burgonet," Part II. v. 1 200,  
 201

168 *proud insulting*] See *1 Henry*  
*VI*. I ii. 138 Compare "haught in-  
 sulting man," *Richard II* iv 1 254.  
 "Haught" is also in *Richard III*

169 *haught*] See last note. Earlier  
 than "haughty," often (spelt "hault") in  
 Golding's Ovid, especially in expression  
 "hault of mind" Hawes has "haute  
 courage," *Pastime of Pleasure* (rept.  
 132), 1509

170 *feather . . . birds*] See below,  
 "birds of selfsame feather," III. iii. 161,  
 and "I am not of that feather," *Timon*  
*of Athens*, I. i 100



To frustrate both his oath and what beside 175  
 May make against the house of Lancaster  
 Their power, I think, is thirty thousand strong  
 Now, if the help of Norfolk and myself,  
 With all the friends that thou, brave Earl of March,  
 Amongst the loving Welshmen canst procure, 180  
 Will but amount to five-and-twenty thousand,  
 Why, Via<sup>1</sup> to London will we march amain,  
 And once again bestride our foaming steeds,  
 And once again cry—Charge upon our foes<sup>1</sup>  
 But never once again turn back and fly. 185

*Rich* Ay, now methinks I hear great Warwick speak.

Ne'er may he live to see a sunshine day,  
 That cries—Retire, if Warwick bid him stay

*Edw* Lord Warwick, on thy shoulder will I lean,  
 And when thou fail'st,—as God forbid the hour<sup>1</sup>— 190  
 Must Edward fall, which peril heaven forbend<sup>1</sup>

now frustrate his oath or what besides May . . I gesse them fifty  
 thousand strong Q 178-181. Now . . myself, With . . March, Amongst  
 . . procure, Will . . thousand] 146-149 Now . . my selfe, Can but amount  
 to 48 thousand, With March, Among . . procure Q 182-185. Why,  
 Via<sup>1</sup> . . upon our foes<sup>1</sup> . . and fly] 150-153. Why via . . upon the foe  
 . . and flie Q 186-188. Ay, now . . if Warwick . . stay] 154-156. I,  
 now . . when Warwike . . stay Q 189-191. Lord . . fail'st,—as  
 God . . Must . . forbend<sup>1</sup>] 157-159. Lord . . faints, must . . forefend Q.

177-181. thirty thousand . . five-  
 and - twenty thousand] Note the  
 wrongly altered numbers from Quarto.  
 Holinshed gives King Edward's force  
 at 48,660 before the battle of Towton.  
 He quotes Wheathamsted that Henry's  
 exceeded them by 20,000 The Quarto  
 is nearer.

182 Via] See *Love's Labour's  
 Lost*, v. 1 140, and v 11 112, and note  
 (in this edition) Shakespeare has it  
 again in *Merry Wives of Windsor*,  
*Merchant of Venice*, and *Henry V*  
*Whether The True Tragedie, or Love's  
 Labour's Lost* claim historical preced-  
 ence for the use of the term is a  
 question Probably the former.

182 to London] See below, line  
 207, note

182. march amain] "amain" is in-  
 troduced from Q (Theobald), omitted in  
 Ff. The expression "march amain"  
 occurs again below, iv. viii. 4, iv. viii  
 64, and *Titus Andronicus*, iv iv 65

183-185. once again . . And once  
 again . . once again] For the emphasis

in this repetition, see again at i iv. 9  
 above, and note A favourite method  
 with Spenser

183 foaming steeds] Spenser pre-  
 ceded this with "froth-fomy steed,"  
*Faerie Queene*, I xi 23 He has  
 "foaming tar" earlier, but "foamy"  
 oftener The latter is once in Shake-  
 speare, *Twelfth Night*.

187 live to see . . day] Compare  
*Spanish Tragedy*, III vi 5 —

"But shall I never live to see the  
 day

That I may come"

187. sunshine day] Occurs again in  
*Richard II* iv 1 221 In Spenser's  
*Shepherd's Calender*, January (Globe  
 ed 446, a) "All in a sunnesshine day."  
 190 fail'st] Steevens reads "fall'st."  
 He had better have taken "faint'st"  
 of Q See note at "join'st," *1 Henry  
 VI* III iii 75

191 heaven forbend] See *1 Henry  
 VI* v iv 65 Again in *Othello* and  
*Winter's Tale*. A thoroughly Shake-  
 spearian ejaculation.

*War.* No longer Earl of March, but Duke of York ·

The next degree is England's royal throne,  
For King of England shalt thou be proclaim'd  
In every borough as we pass along, 195  
And he that throws not up his cap for joy  
Shall for the fault make forfeit of his head.  
King Edward, valiant Richard, Montague,  
Stay we no longer, dreaming of renown,  
But sound the trumpets, and about our task. 200

*Rich.* Then, Clifford, were thy heart as hard as steel,  
As thou hast shown it flinty by thy deeds,  
I come to pierce it, or to give thee mine.

*Edw.* Then strike up, drums! God and Saint George for us!

*Enter a Messenger*

*War.* How now! what news? 205

*Mess.* The Duke of Norfolk sends you word by me,  
The Queen is coming with a puissant host,

192-200 *No longer throne, For . . . throws not the fault . . .*  
*renown, But . . . task* 160-168 *No longer . . . king And . . . casts not . . .*  
*the offence* *renowne, But forward to effect these resolutions* Q. 201-204.  
*The* *for us*] omitted Q. 205-209 *Enter War. How . . . news?*  
*Mess* *The counsel War Why . . . warriors, let's away* 169-172  
*En r . . . Mes The . . . puissant power . . . counsell War Why . . .*  
*Lo des Lets march away. Exeunt Omnes* Q.

193, 196 *throne . . . throws*] Capell reads "king casts" here from Q. 196 *throws not up his cap for joy*] From Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 512 (1543) "One Nashfeelde, and other belongyng to the protectoure, with some prentices and laddes . . . began . . . to crye 'Kyng Richarde, Kyng Rychard,' and there threwe up their cappes in token of ioye"

199 *Stay we*] See Introduction to Part I on this form, and note at "Embrace we" in that play, II 1 13 "Stay we no longer prating here" is a line in Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 383). The following line in Q contains "resolutions," Shakespeare never uses this plural. It is noticeable how scene-endings often fail in these plays, or have a different ring. Signs of Peele appear here

200 *about our task*] I have no good parallel in Shakespeare for this expression, without a verb, and with an object after the almost verbal "about" "Set" or "go" is omitted. "Ile about

it straight" occurs in *Soliman and Perseda*, IV, II 82. And elsewhere in the same play. Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II III. III (Dyce, 56, b) "Come, let's about it" 201-203 *heart pierce it*] See below, III 1 38

201. *as hard as steel*] Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (453, a). "Dig, brother dig, for she is hard as steel." And in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II I. III (46, b) "As black as jet and hard as iron or steel."

202. *flinty*] See above, I. IV 142. Used earlier in Latimer, *New Eng Dict*, and for the word see Part I II 1 27. Often in Shakespeare both literally and as a metaphor.

204. *God and Saint George*] See I *Henry VI* IV. II 55, and below in this play, IV II. 29 So Hall (p. 250 rept). "in the name of God and Saint George . . . I will fight"

207. *The Queen is coming*] The "march amain" on London is set aside by this news That it was

And craves your company for speedy counsel.

*War.* Why then it sorts, brave warriors, let's away

[*Exeunt*

SCENE II.—*Before York*

*Flourish* Enter King HENRY, Queen MARGARET, the PRINCE OF WALES, CLIFFORD, and NORTHUMBERLAND, with drum and trumpets.

*Q. Mar.* Welcome, my lord, to this brave town of York.

Yonder's the head of that arch-enemy  
That sought to be encompass'd with your crown  
Doth not the object cheer your heart, my lord?

*K. Hen.* Ay, as the rocks cheer them that fear their wreck: 5

To see this sight, it irks my very soul  
Withhold revenge, dear God! 'tis not my fault,  
Nor wittingly have I infringed my vow

*Clif.* My gracious liege, this too much lenity

*Enter.* ] Enter the King, the Queen, Clifford, Northum. . . . and Yong Prince, with Drumm and Trumpettes F 1, Enter the King and Queene, Prince Edward, and the Northern Earles, with drum and Souldiers Q 1-4 Welcome . . . arch-enemy . . . encompass'd . . . cheer your heart, my lord? ] 1-4 Welcome . . . ambitious enemy . . . impaled . . . please your eye my lord ] 5-8. Ay, as cheer . . . wreck To see . . . soul Withhold . . . vow ] -7. Even as wracke. Withhold . . . vow Q. 9-20 My gracious liege . . . their den forest bear . . . her young . . . her face. Who 'scapes . . . in

historically correct, see Hall (253). "The erles of Marche and Warwycke, hauing perfitte knowledge that the kyng and quene with their adherentes were departed from Saint Albons, determined first to ryde to London as the chefe Key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of the kingdome [Norfolk and Wales], as King Henry and his faction nestered and strengthened him and his allies in the North regions and boreal plage meaning to haue a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to counteruayle a Northern bassard" ["bastard," Grafton]. From this point, history goes wholly astray in the dramatic sequence Mr Boswell Stone eases the position by "We may suppose"

207 *puissant host*] "By reason whereof he [King Edward the 111] assembled together a *puissant army*" (Hall, p. 252) And on p. 251.

209. *it sorts*] it is fitting, it fits See *Troilus and Cressida*, i. i. 109

SCENE II.

1. *Welcome York*] "While these things were in doying in the South part, King Henry beyng in the North country, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke that he had brought all thyng to purpose . . . assembled a great army But he was sore deceiued for out of the dead stocke sprang . . . Kyng Edward the 111" (Hall, 252)  
3 *impaled with crown*] in Q is altered here It occurs below, III ii 171 and III iii 189 And in Q at last reference

9 *liege*] Note the change from the wearisome "lord," so often repeated The same has occurred in Part II (III i.).

9 *lenity*] Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng* (p. 571), 1543 "yf he should remitte that faulte other would abuse his *lenitee* and trespace

And harmful pity must be laid aside 10  
 To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?  
 Not to the beast that would usurp their den  
 Whose hand is that the forest bear doth lick?  
 Not his that spoils her young before her face  
 Who 'scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting? 15  
 Not he that sets his foot upon her back  
 The smallest worm will turn being trodden on,  
 And doves will peck in safeguard of their brood  
 Ambitious York did level at thy crown;  
 Thou smiling while he knit his angry brows 20  
 He, but a duke, would have his son a king,  
 And raise his issue like a loving sire,

*safeguard*      *brows*] 8-19. *My gracious lord . . . his den . . . savage Beare*  
*. . . his young . . . his face Whose scapes . . . in rescue browes* Q  
 21-32 *He, but a duke . . . yield consent . . . unloving with those .*

more highly" An earlier use than any quoted.

13 *forest bear*] untamed, more than usually savage and wild bear Compare "mountain lioness," *Titus Andronicus*, IV ii 138 And see below, v 1 10-12 "two brave bears . . . They made the forest tremble." Marlowe speaks of "The forest deer" in *Edward II.* (212, b)

15 *Who . . . lurking serpent's mortal sting*] Compare *Lucrece*, 362-364 —

"Who sees the lurking serpent steps aside,

But she . . .

Lies at the mercy of his mortal sting"

Spenser has "an Adder lurking in the weeds" (*Faerie Queene*, II v 34).

17. *The smallest worm will turn being trodden on*] "Tread a worme on the tayle and it must turne agayn" (Heywood (ed Sharman), p 111, 1546). It is in A. Munday's *English Romaine Life*, 1590 (Harl Miscell. II 200) The whole passage might have been suggested by this one in Hall (270), spoken by Warwick "what worme is touched, and will not once turne againe? what beast is stricken that will not rore sound? What innocent child is hurte that will not crye? If the poore and unreasonable beasts If the sely babes," etc

18 *doves will peck*] See above, I iv.

41. Compare for the sentiment the swan and her downy cygnets, v III 56 in Part I

18 *in safeguard of*] Compare *Richard III.* v III. 259 "*in safeguard of your wives*" And see *Measure for Measure*, v. 1 424 (in this edition, note) Golding has "by like in you Sir snudge, Consistes the saveward of us all" (III 821, 822)

19 *level at thy crown*] Compare "level at my life," 2 *Henry VI.* III 1 160 It is said there of "dogged York" (not in the *First Contention*)

20 *knit his angry brows*] "knit his brows" occurs again in 2 *Henry VI.* I II. 3 and III 1 15; and see below, III II. 82, and *Lucrece*, "knit brow,"

709 One of the many expressions in these plays showing continuity and identity of authorship between them and known work of Shakespeare's. In Q. Note always too the identity of all these important and thoroughly Shakespearian speeches with those in Q. And the utter futility of distinguishing writers *New English Dictionary* gives the expression from Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1386; and Caxton, *Sommes of Aymon*, 1489, with Shakespeare next. But Shakespeare read the following "The protectoure . . . came in agayn . . . with a squire angry countenance, knittynge the browes, frownyng, and frettyng, and gnawynge on his lippes" (*Grafton's Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 493, 1543)

Thou, being a king, bless'd with a goodly son,  
 Didst yield consent to disinherit him,  
 Which argued thee a most unloving father 25  
 Unreasonable creatures feed their young,  
 And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,  
 Yet, in protection of their tender ones,  
 Who hath not seen them, even with those wings  
 Which sometime they have used with fearful flight, 30  
 Make war with him that climb'd unto their nest,  
 Offering their own lives in their young's defence?  
 For shame, my liege, make them your precedent!  
 Were it not pity that this goodly boy  
 Should lose his birthright by his father's fault, 35  
 And long hereafter say unto his child,  
 "What my great-grandfather and grandsire got  
 My careless father fondly gave away?"  
 Ah, what a shame were this! Look on the boy;  
 And let his manly face, which promiseth 40  
 Successful fortune, steel thy melting heart  
 To hold thine own and leave thine own with him.  
*K Hen* Full well hath Clifford play'd the orator,  
 Inferring arguments of mighty force  
 But, Clifford, tell me, didst thou never hear 45  
 That things ill got had ever bad success?

*used with fearful . . . climb'd . . . defence ?] 20 31 He but a Duke . . . give consent . . . unnaturall . . . with those same wings Which they have sometime vsde in fearefull . . . climes defence ? Q 33-42 For shame, my liege . . . precedent . . . birthright by . . . away ? Ah, this ! Look fortune, steel . . . heart To hold . . . with him] 32-41 For shame, my Lord . . . president birth right through aware ? Looke . . . fortune to vs all, Steele . . . thoughtes to keepe . . . with him Q. 43-48 Full well . . . But, . . . hear That things ill . . . always was . . . hell ?] 42-47 Full well . . . But tell me, didst thou neuer yet heare tell, That things euill . . . euer was . . . hell ? Q.*

33. *precedent*] "president" in Ff and Q, the common spelling of the time  
 41. *steel thy heart*] This expression is in *Henry V* iv 1 306, and *Venus and Adonis*, 375, 376 And "steel thy fearful thoughts" occurs in 2 *Henry VI*. iii 1 331 See also Sonnet 112, and *Richard II* v 11 34 Note the improved metre from Quarto in 39-42, by insertion of "Ah what a shame were this" But it is more likely these are dropped words of a printer from a bad manuscript  
 43. *play'd the orator*] See note 1 *Henry VI* iv 1 175, and above in

this play, i 11 2 (and notes). Another continuity-phrase  
 44. *Inferring*] alleging, adducing. See below, iii. 1 49, "Inferreth arguments" Elsewhere several times in *Richard III* only. An uncommon use outside Shakespeare Greene often uses "infer"—"infer comparison" is in *Mamillia* twice (draw comparisons)  
 46. *things ill got . . .*] An old saw. Compare Spenser's *Mother Hubbards Tale* (Globe ed 523, b) "Ill might it prosper that ill gotten was." Heywood has (1546) "Soone gotten, soone spent, ill gotten, ill spent" (Sharman's

- And happy always was it for that son  
 Whose father for his hoarding went to hell ?  
 I'll leave my son my virtuous deeds behind ,  
 And would my father had left me no more ! 50  
 For all the rest is held at such a rate  
 As brings a thousand-fold more care to keep  
 Than in possession any jot of pleasure  
 Ah, cousin York, would thy best friends did know  
 How it doth grieve me that thy head is here ! 55  
*Q. Mar* My lord, cheer up your spirits our foes are nigh,  
 And this soft courage makes your followers faint  
 You promis'd knighthood to our forward son .  
 Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently.  
 Edward, kneel down. 60  
*K Hen* Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight ,  
 And learn this lesson, draw thy sword in right  
*Prince* My gracious father, by your kingly leave,  
 I'll draw it as apparent to the crown,  
 And in that quarrel use it to the death 65  
*Clif.* Why, that is spoken like a toward prince

49-53 I'll leave . thousand-fold more Than . . pleasure] 48-52  
 I leave . asks a thousand times more . Then make the present profit  
 counteruaile Q 54, 55 Ah, is here !] 53, 54 Ah stands there Q  
 56-60 My lord kneel down] 55-58 My lord, this harmefull pittie makes  
 your followers faint. You promsde knighthood to your princelie sonne, Vn-  
 sheath your sword and straight doe dub him knight Kneele downe Edward Q  
 61-66 Edward lesson, draw Clif. Why . . prince] 59-64. Edward  
 . . . lesson boy, draw . Northum Why . prince Q

ed. p 131) And in Grafton's *Con-  
 tinuation of Hardyng*, 518 " the  
 thyng euell gotten is neuer well  
 kepte " Halliwell gives Latin parallels  
 from Erasmus and Juvenal

47, 48 happy . was that  
 son Whose father to hell] An old  
 adage, but "for his hoarding" is  
 Shakespeare's insertion, and the appli-  
 cation is his own The original is in  
 Latimer's *Seven Sermons* (Arber, p 97),  
 1549 "Happy is the chylde whose  
 father goeth to the Deuyll." It is also  
 in T Lupton's *All for Money* (Halli-  
 well rept. p 156), 1578 It is in Har-  
 rington's *Epigrams*, Ray's *Proverbs*,  
 etc Halliwell and Staunton have  
 wrongly made this an evidence of  
 Greene's work Greene never came  
 where this work grew Greene has a  
 very silly comment on it in *The Royall  
 Exchange* (Grosart, vii 235), quoted by  
 Halliwell Tom Brown (Works, ed.

1708, iii 74) refers to a song of the  
 proverb, about a fop newly come to his  
 estate

57 soft courage] replaces "harmful  
 pity" of Quarto, a better phrase, but it  
 has been used above at line 10

57 faint] See above, i 1. 129

59 dub him presently] This occurred  
 after Mortimer's Cross and the second  
 battle of Saint Albans which followed  
 close, and is thus told in sequence from  
 Hall, quoted at ii i 111 "When  
 queene Margaret had thus well sped,  
 first she caused the kyng to dubbe  
 prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with  
 xxv other persons, which in the morn-  
 ing fought on the queene's side, against  
 his parte" (p 252).

66 toward] willing, courageous.  
 See *Soliman and Perseda* (Boas' Kyd),  
 i iv 35, 36 "Tis wondrous that so  
 yong a toward warriour Should bide the  
 shock of such approved knights " And

*Enter a Messenger*

*Mess.* Royal commanders, be in readiness

For with a band of thirty thousand men

Comes Warwick, backing of the Duke of York,

And in the towns, as they do march along,

70

Proclaims him king, and many fly to him

Darraign your battle, for they are at hand.

*Clif* I would your highness would depart the field

The queen hath best success when you are absent

*Q Mar* Ay, good my lord, and leave us to our fortune 75

*K. Hen* Why, that's my fortune too therefore I'll stay.

*North* Be it with resolution then to fight.

*Prince* My royal father, cheer these noble lords,

And hearten those that fight in your defence

Unsheathe your sword, good father cry, "Saint

George!"

80

67-72 *Royal thirty . . . towns along . . . fly to him. Darraign . . . battle are at hand* 65-70. *Royall . . . fiftie . . . townes whereas they passe along flies to him Prepare battels be at hand* Q 73-75 *I would . . . Ay, good my . . . fortune* 71-73 *I would . . . Do good my fortunes* Q 76, 77 *Why fortune . . . stay North Be . . . fight* 74, 75 *Why . . . fortune, therefore Ile stay still Clif Be . . . fight* Q 78-80 *My George* 76-78 *Good father cheere these noble Lords,*

Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv. i (Dyce, 61, a) "my other toward brother here For person like to prove a second Mars"

66-69 *Enter a Messenger Warwick, backing of the Duke of York* Immediately after the knighthood of Henry's son, and the settling of riots in London between the Commons and the Queen's "Northren horsemen," Hall writes "But what soeuer man purposeth, God disposeth, for all these deuises were shortly transmuted into another forme, because trew report was brought, not onely to the cite, but also to the queene, that the erle of Marche [Duke of York] had vanquished the erles of Pembroke and Wiltshyre . . . and that the erle of Warwycke . . . had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton . . . and that they with both their powers were cominge toward London These trew tales turned the queenes purpose . . . in so muche that she . . . with her husband and sonne, departed from Saint Albon's into the North Countrey" (pp 252-255) This is undoubtedly the hint on which Shakespeare spoke

the places where, differ, but the manner how, is the same

72 *Darraign*] An old expression occurring in Chaucer several times, and in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, I vii 11, II ii 26, III i 20 And often in Hall and Grafton Another form of "derrain," set in order, range Not in Qq (which use "prepare") and nowhere else in Shakespeare See note at "hap" and "hope," II iii 8, below 73, 74 *I would . . . absent*] See note at II i. 111 "where his person was present, there victory fled"

75 *good my lord*] Shakespeare's favourite transposition We have had "good my lords" already in Part I iv i 133 See note at "sweet my child," *Love's Labour's Lost*, I ii 65, and "good my knave," *ibid* III i 144 The expression here is in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II iii iv (Dyce, 57, a) "Come, good my lord, and let us haste from hence"

79 *hearten*] omitted (with the line) in Q, and only again in *Lucrece*, 295, "heartens up his servile powers." Compare Golding's Ovid, viii. 290 "So heartens he his little son to

*March* Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD, WARWICK,  
NORFOLK, MONTAGUE, and Soldiers

*Edw* Now, perjur'd Henry, wilt thou kneel for grace,  
And set thy diadem upon my head;  
Or bide the mortal fortune of the field?

*Q. Mar.* Go, rate thy minions, proud insulting boy!  
Becomes it thee to be thus bold in terms 85  
Before thy sovereign and thy lawful king?

*Edw.* I am his king, and he should bow his knee,  
I was adopted heir by his consent  
Since when, his oath is broke, for, as I hear,  
You, that are king, though he do wear the crown, 90  
Have caused him, by new act of Parliament,  
To blot out me, and put his own son in.

*Clif* And reason too  
Who should succeed the father but the son?

*Rich.* Are you there, butcher? O! I cannot speak! 95

*Clif.* Ay, crook-back, here I stand to answer thee,  
Or any he the proudest of thy sort.

*Rich.* 'Twas you that kill'd young Rutland, was it not?

*Clif.* Ay, and old York, and yet not satisfied.

*Vnsheath your sword, sweet father crie Saint George. Clif Pitch we our battell heere, for hence wee will not moue Enter the house of Yorke Q. 81. March Enter Edward, George . . . ] March Enter Edward . . . Clarence . . . Ff. 81-83 Now kneel for . . . the field? 79, 80 Now . . . yealde thy crowne, And kneele for mercie at thy soueraignes feete? Q. 84-86. Go, rate . . . bold in terms Before king? 81-83 Go rate . . . malapert, Before thy king and lawfull soueraigne? Q. 87, 88 I am . . . bow his . . . consent? 84, 85 I am . . . bend his . . . consent Q. 89-92 Since when, . . . I hear . . . blot out me, . . . own son in? 86-90 George Since when he hath broke his oath For as we heare . . . own son in Q. 93, 94 And reason too . . . son? 91. And reason George . . . son? Q. 95 Are . . . speak? 92. Are you their butcher? Qq 1, 2 (there Q 3). 96, 97 Ay . . . Or any . . . sort? 93. I . . . or any of your sort? Q. 98, 99 'Twas you . . . York, and . . . satisfied? 94, 95. 'Twas you . . . Yorke too, and . . . satisfide Q.*

follow" And in Spenser's *Runes of Rome*, st 22.

84 *proud insulting*] See above, II 1. 168 (note)

89 *Since when*] A new speech in Q, given to "George," begins here In the first Folio this is altered to Clarence Ff 2, 3, 4 set it right

97 *Or any he the proudest of thy sort*] See note at I Henry VI iv. vii 84; and above, at "The proudest he," I. 1 46 This line occurs in Greene's

*Alphonsus* (Grosart. xiii 396) "Or any he, the proudest of you all" It may very well have amazed Greene to see it here. But that implies that 3 Henry VI precedes the *Groatsworth of Wit*. 97. *sort*] set, kind Usually in a bad sense in Shakespeare Hawes used it —

"So fayre and good a sorte  
Of goodly knyghtes"  
(*Pastime of Pleasure*) (Chiswick rept p 129), 1509.



*Rich.* For God's sake, lords, give signal to the fight. 100

*War* What say'st thou, Henry, wilt thou yield the crown?

*Q Mar.* Why, how now, long-tongued Warwick! dare you speak?

When you and I met at Saint Alban's last,

Your legs did better service than your hands

*War* Then 'twas my turn to fly, and now 'tis thine. 105

*Clif.* You said so much before, and yet you fled

*War* 'Twas not your valour, Clifford, drove me thence

*North.* No, nor your manhood that durst make you stay.

*Rich.* Northumberland, I hold thee reverently

Break off the parley, for scarce I can refrain 110

The execution of my big-swoln heart

Upon that Clifford, that cruel child-killer.

*Clif* I slew thy father call'st thou him a child?

*Rich.* Ay, like a dastard and a treacherous coward,

As thou didst kill our tender brother Rutland; 115

But ere sun set I'll make thee curse the deed

*K Hen* Have done with words, my lords, and hear me speak

*Q Mar.* Defy them then, or else hold close thy lips

100, 101. *For God's . . . signal . . . the crown* ?] 96, 97. *For Gods . . . synald* (*signall* Q 3) . . . *thy crowne* ? Q 102-104. *Why . . . long-tongu d . . . hands*] 98-100. *What, long tongde . . . hand* Q. 105-107. *Then 'twas . . . fly, and Clifford . . . thence*] 101-103. *I, then twas . . . flee, but . . . Clifford, that . . . thence* Q 108-112. *No, . . . manhood . . . make I hold . . . Upon that Clifford . . . child-killer*] 104-109. *No, . . . manhood War-wike, that could make . . . Northumberland, Northumberland, wee holde . . . against that Clifford there, . . . child killer* Q 113-116. *I slew . . . dastard . . . sun set . . . deed*] 110-113. *Why I kild . . . villaine . . . sunne set* [*Sunset* F 2, *Sun set* Ff 3, 4] . . . *deed* Q 117-125. *Have done . . . my lords . . . My liege . . . cured . . . his tongue*] 114-122. *Haue doone . . . great lordes . . . My Lord cru'd* (*cur'd* Q 3) . . . *hangs vpon his tongue* Q

102. *long-tongued*] Again in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. ii. 150. Shakespeare was fond of the word *tongued*. He uses it with close-, honey-, lewd-, maiden-, poisonous-, shrill-, trumpet-, and wasp-. He uses -mouthed similarly (Spenser has "fire-mouthed"), but the *tongued* compound is his own probably. He is the monarch of compounds, and Schmidt his chiefest exponent

109-112. *Northumberland . . . child-killer*] The unmetrical confusion in Q is again noticeable

110. *refrain*] Nowhere else used transitively by Shakespeare. Compare Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (468, b) "If thou unkindly shouldst refrain her bed" *New Eng. Dict* gives the passage in text as earliest of "refrain" in sense of "give up (something)"

111. *big-swoln*] Occurs again (of the face of the sea) in *Titus Andronicus*, iii. i. 224. Compare "high-swoln," *Richard III* ii. ii. 117. Another proof of Shakespeare's continued authorship, for this line occurs in *The First Part of Contention*: "The big swolne venome of thy hatefull heart" (i. i. 86), in a speech of the Cardinal's which has no counterpart in *2 Henry VI*. The word here is in Q.

112. *child-killer*] See Hall's words, quoted at i. iv. 95

116. *sun set*] of Q, is certainly to be preferred to "sunset." So I read in *King John*, iii. i. 110, but not in *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. v. 128, nor in *Sonnet* 73. Ff 3, 4 have "sun set"

- K. Hen* I prithee, give no limits to my tongue.  
 I am a king, and privileged to speak 120  
*Clif.* My liege, the wound that bred this meeting here  
 Cannot be cured by words, therefore be still  
*Rich.* Then, executioner, unsheathe thy sword  
 By Him that made us all, I am resolv'd  
 That Clifford's manhood lies upon his tongue 125  
*Edw.* Say, Henry, shall I have my right or no?  
 A thousand men have broke their fasts to-day,  
 That ne'er shall dine unless thou yield the crown.  
*War* If thou deny, their blood upon thy head,  
 For York in justice puts his armour on 130  
*Prince.* If that be right which Warwick says is right,  
 There is no wrong, but every thing is right  
*Rich* Whoever got thee, there thy mother stands,  
 For well I wot thou hast thy mother's tongue  
*Q Mar* But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam, 135  
 But like a foul misshapen stigmatic,  
 Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided,

126-132 *Say, Henry* *fasts* *blood upon* *If that . . . which*  
*. . . every thing is right]* 123-129 *What saist thou, Henry* *. . . fast . . .*  
*bloods be on* *If all* *that . . . all things must be right Q* 133-138  
*Whoever . . . dreadful stings]* 130-135 *Whatsoever* *. . . fainting looks Q*

119 *I prithee]* A permanent favourite with Shakespeare Over twenty times in the plays

119 *give no limits to my tongue]* So in *Richard III* iii vii 194 "for reverence to some alive, I gave a sparing limit to my tongue"

122 *therefore be still]* See note at "Get thee gone," i. 1. 258, above, where the words here are eliminated from Q No doubt due to the careful supervision we have continual evidence of.

124 *By Him that* ] So in Peele's *Jack Straw* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 406) —

"By Him that died for me, I will not dine,

Till I have seen thee hanged or made away"

In the text the pathos is absurd can a line be lost? See note at Part II i. 1. 111 And Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, ii. 11. 89 "I swear to both, by Him that made us all"

128. *ne'er shall dine unless]* See last note from *Jack Straw*. And in *Rich-*

*ard III* iii iv 79 "I swear I will not dine until I see the same", where it is taken verbatim from Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p. 495, 1543

133 *Whoever got thee]* See "Mene-laüs," below, l. 147 At the birth of Prince Edward, Hall says (rept p. 230) "which was christened & named Edward . . . whose mother susteyned not a little slaunders and obloquye of the common people, saying that the kyng was not able to get a chyld, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaundersous woords, to the queenes dishonor, which here nede not to be rehersed" This speech is erroneously (as the answer shows) given to Warwick in the Folios.

134 *well I wot]* See *1 Henry VI*. iv vi 32 (note), and Introduction, p. xxviii

136 *foul* *stigmatic]* These words, "foul stigmatic," have occurred already in Part II v. 1. 215, applied by young Clifford to Richard See note Drayton remembered to use it in his Epistle from Q Margaret.

As venom toads, or lizards' dreadful stings

*Rich.* Iron of Naples hid with English gilt,  
Whose father bears the title of a king, 140  
As if a channel should be call'd the sea,  
Sham'st thou not, knowing whence thou art extraught,  
To let thy tongue detect thy base-born heart?

*Edw.* A wisp of straw were worth a thousand crowns,  
To make this shameless callat know herself 145  
Helen of Greece was fairer far than thou,  
Although thy husband may be Menelaus,

139-143 *Iron . whose . Sham'st knowing . heart ?*] 136-140 *Iron*  
Thy Shames knowing from whence thou art deride, to parte  
thus with Englands lawfull heires ? Q 144, 145. A wisp . . . this shameless  
herself] 141, 142 A wisp . . . that shamelesse . . . her selfe Q 146-  
149 Helen by thee] omitted Q

138 *venom*] Used adjectively again in *Richard III* i iii 291, and *Luc-rece*, 850

138 *lizards' dreadful stings*] Altered from "fainting looks" of Q "Lizards stings" occurs in 2 *Henry VI* iii ii 325 "Fainting looks, 'looks that produce fainting One would suggest Lodge's "faintful"

141 *channel*] gutter, kennel, drain.

142 *extraught*] derived (the Quarto word) A participle for extracted, like distraught for distracted Spenser has "from whos race . . . she was lineallie extract" (*Faerie Queene*, iii ix 38) "Extraught" occurs twice in the *Troublesome Raigne of King Fohn*, where Shakespeare read it, probably earlier than this play "I beg some instance whence I am extraught" (Shakespeare's Library, Hazlitt, p 234) And on p 236 Earlier examples are in *New Eng Dict*

143 *detect*] betray, expose The oldest sense, and Shakespeare's usual one. This line completely differs from Quarto See next note

143 *base-born*] A word of Peele's, but earlier in Churchyard See note in Part II. i iii 82 to "base-born callat" In neither case is this word in the Quartos Spenser has "base-born men" in *Ruines of Time and Teares of the Muses* It is several times in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I.

144 *A wisp of straw*] the badge of a scold See Nares for ample illustrations, culled mostly from the com-

mentators on this passage, as found in Steevens (1793) It was part of the ceremony of "Skimmington, 'not quite forgotten in the north of Ireland but confounded with "riding the stang" by Nares Steevens gives an early reference from Drant's *Horace*, Seventh Satire, 1567 —

"So perfyte and exacte a scoulde  
that women mighte geve place  
Whose tatlynge tongues had won  
a wisp"

The only early one I can add is from Gabriel Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii 219), 1593 "She hath already put-on her wispen garland"—Harvey's *tu quoque* to Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse* See, too, Ben Jonson, *The Vision of Delight*, 1607

145 *callat*] See Part II. i iii 82, and note at "base-born callat" It is hard to reject the idea that the repetition here (from Part II) is smoothed away by parting the company of these terms, though only by a line or two "Callat" is an old word, often in Skelton and Golding (Irish, *cailleach*) A violent scold, or horrid old woman

147 *Menelaus*] Steevens quotes from *Troilus and Cressida* (v i 60), where Thersites, speaking of Menelaus, calls him "the goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his brother, the bull,—the primitive statue and oblique memorial of cuckolds" Schmidt adds the reference to *Troilus and Cressida*, i i 115 "Menelaus horn," the prototype of cuckolds

And ne'er was Agamemnon's brother wrong'd  
 By that false woman as this king by thee  
 His father revell'd in the heart of France, 150  
 And tam'd the king, and made the Dauphin stoop,  
 And had he match'd according to his state,  
 He might have kept that glory to this day,  
 But when he took a beggar to his bed,  
 And graced thy poor sire with his bridal day, 155  
 Even then that sunshine brew'd a shower for him,  
 That wash'd his father's fortunes forth of France,  
 And heap'd sedition on his crown at home  
 For what hath broach'd this tumult but thy pride?  
 Hadst thou been meek our title still had slept, 160  
 And we, in pity of the gentle king,  
 Had slipp'd our claim until another age  
*Geo* But when we saw our sunshine made thy spring,  
 And that thy summer bred us no increase,  
 We set the axe to thy usurping root, 165  
 And though the edge hath something hit ourselves,  
 Yet know thou, since we have begun to strike,  
 We'll never leave till we have hewn thee down,  
 Or bathed thy growing with our heated bloods.  
*Edw.* And in this resolution I defy thee, 170  
 Not willing any longer conference,  
 Since thou deniest the gentle king to speak.

150-162 *His father . . . the king . . . brew'd a shower . . . That wash'd  
 sedition . . . broach'd this tumult . . . still had . . . another age* 143-  
 155 *Thy husband's father the French . . . till this date . . . bridall  
 date, Then . . . bred a showre . . . Which washt . . . seditions . . . mou'd  
 . . . these tumults . . . yet had . . . an other age Q. 163-169 But . . .  
 sunshine . . . spring, And thy summer bred . . . We set . . . edge hath . . .  
 know thou . . . till we . . . bloods* 156-162. *But . . . summer brought the  
 game, And the harvest brought We set edge have . . . know  
 thou we will neuer cease to strike, Till blouds Q. 170-177. And in  
 . . . Stay, Edward . . . No . . . we'll . . . These . . . this day Exeunt*  
 163-170 *And in . . . staie Edward staie. Hence . . . Ile . . . Thy . . . to  
 date. Exeunt Omnes Q.*

156, 157 *Even then . . . France*] I venture to call attention to these perfect and perfectly Shakespearian lines, found also in the Quarto

159. *broach'd* Better than "moved" of Q. Started, set going Shakespeare has "broached a business" in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Henry VIII. and in *Titus Andronicus*.

162. *slipp'd* left unnoticed. Compare *Macbeth*, II. iii 52 "I have almost slipped the hour" No other

parallel in Shakespeare? Compare Peele, *Anglorum Feriæ* (595, b). "To slip remembrance of those careful days" (skip, pass by) But this piece is later, 1595.

172 *deniest*] forbiddest. Several times in Shakespeare, to deny a person to do something Compare Golding's Ovid "Delay breeds losses The cace denies now dawning vor too stond" (forbids us to stand in doubt), xi. 432.

Sound trumpets! let our bloody colours wave!  
And either victory, or else a grave.

*Q. Mar* Stay, Edward.

175

*Edw.* No, wrangling woman, we'll no longer stay

These words will cost ten thousand lives this day

[*Exeunt*

SCENE III.—*A field of battle between Towton and Saxton,  
in Yorkshire*

*Alarums Excursions Enter WARWICK*

*War* Forspent with toil, as runners with a race,  
I lay me down a little while to breathe,  
For strokes received, and many blows repaid,  
Have robb'd my strong-knit sinews of their strength,  
And spite of spite needs must I rest awhile

5

*Enter EDWARD, running.*

*Edw.* Smile, gentle heaven! or strike, ungentle death!

For this world frowns, and Edward's sun is clouded

*War* How now, my lord! what hap? what hope of good?

SCENE III. *A field* ] Malone, Cambridge. *Alarums* . ] Ff, *Alarums*.  
*Enter Warwike Q* 1-5 *Forspent* Have . . . *spite of spite* . . . *awhile*.  
*Enter . . .* ] 1-5 *Sore spent* the race . . . *Hath robb'd* force perforce  
. . . *my selfe*. *Enter Edward Q* 6, 7. *Smile* . . . *heaven* . . . *death*!  
. . . *clouded*] 6-9 *Smile* . . . *heavens* . . . *death*, *That we mase die vnlesse*  
*we gaine the daie* *What fatall starre malignant frownes from heauen Vpon*  
*the harmlesse line of Yorkes true house*? *Enter George Q.* 8. *War* *How*  
*now* . . . *good*? ] 14 *War* *How now* . . . *good*? *Q*

1 *Forspent*] exhausted Compare  
2 *Henry IV.* i. i. 37 Thoroughly  
spent. Nothing to do with "fore spent,"  
meaning foregone, or previously expended.  
The reading of the Quartos,  
"sore spent" is instructive. It accounts  
for the Folio "Fore-spent" Golding gives  
an example of the sense here "now Am I  
*forspent* and worne with yeeres," (xii 490, 491) And  
Spenser of the other construction "Is  
not enough thy euill life *forespent*?"  
(*Faerie Queene*, i ix 43).

4 *strong-knit*] Compare "well-knit"  
in *Love's Labour's Lost*, i ii 70 (note in  
this edition) But the three lines (3, 4, 5)  
occur again in *Q* at v. ii. 25-28 (omitted  
in 3 *Henry VI*) where "spite of spite" is  
the reading

5. *spite of spite*] come what may,

no matter what worse happens. Occurs  
again in *King John*, v iv. 5. For the  
"force perforce" which this replaces (in  
Quarto), and which also occurs in *King John*,  
iii i 142, see 2 *Henry VI* i i 258 "Force  
perforce" occurs in *The Spanish Tragedy*.  
See Introduction, Part II

7 *For* . . . *clouded*] replaced by  
three different lines in *Q* "Malignant  
star" has occurred in Part I iv v.  
6 "Suns" refers to Edward's badge  
Shakespeare rejoiced in this allusion  
See below, ii vi. 8 (note)

8, 9 *hap* . . . *hope*] Compare Whetstone's  
*Promos and Cassandra*, Part I iii ii (1578)  
"I nowe will seeke to turne to *happe his hope*."  
And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i vii ii "Who hap-  
lesse, and eke hopelesse, all in vaine

*Enter* GEORGE.

*Geo* Our hap is loss, our hope but sad despair,  
Our ranks are broke, and ruin follows us. 10  
What counsel give you? whither shall we fly?  
*Edw* Bootless is flight, they follow us with wings,  
And weak we are, and cannot shun pursuit.

*Enter* RICHARD.

*Rich* Ah, Warwick, why hast thou withdrawn thyself?  
Thy brother's blood the thirsty earth hath drunk, 15  
Broach'd with the steely point of Clifford's lance,  
And in the very pangs of death he cried,  
Like to a dismal clangor heard from far,  
"Warwick, revenge! brother, revenge my death!"

9-11 *Our hap . . fly*] 10-13 *Come brother, come, lets to the field againe, For yet theres hope enough to win the dase Then let vs backe to cheere our fainting Troupes, lest they retire now we haue left the field* Q 12, 13 *Bootless pursuit*] omitted Q 14-22. *Ah, Warwick, thyself? Thy The noble ghost*] 15-25 *Ah Warwike thy selfe? Thy noble father in the thickest*

Did to him pace sad battaile to dar-  
rayne" In Q lines 8 and 9 are replaced  
by a different speech Line 8 is there,  
however (as l 14), in a different con-  
text Kyd sets "hapless" and "hope-  
less" in apposition in *Spanish Tragedy*  
and *Comelia*

15. *blood . . earth . drunk*] See  
below, line 23, *Richard III* i ii 63,  
65 Compare Genesis iv 11 See  
Marlowe's *Edward II.* quoted at v. vi.  
61 below

15-24 *Thy brother's blood . . .  
I will not fly*] These passages are  
from Hall's account of the conflict  
at Ferrybridge preceding the fight at  
Towton (March 28-9, 1461) Hall  
says "the lorde Clifforde determined  
with his light horsemen, to make an  
assaye to such as kept the passage of  
Ferrybridge The lord Fitzwalter  
. . . was slayne, and with hym the  
Bastard of Salisbury, brother to the  
Erle of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong  
gentelman, and of great audacitie  
When the erle of Warwycke was en-  
formed of this feate, he like a man  
desperate, mounted on his Hackeney,  
and came blowyng to Kyng Edward,  
sayng syr I praye God haue mercy  
of your soules, which in the beginning  
of your enterprise hath lost their lifes  
. . . and with that lighted doune and

slew his horse with his swourde, sayng  
let him fle that wil, for sureley I will  
tary with him that wil tary with me,  
and kissed the crosse of his sword"  
(p 253)

15, 16 *blood . . . Broach'd*] Again  
in *Henry VI* iii iv. 40 (note) and *2  
Henry VI* iv x 40, but not elsewhere.  
For "thrise valiant" in Q here, see  
Introduction, Part I. It occurs in  
*Titus Andronicus* Evidences of Peele  
appear here in Q

16 *thickest thronges*] in Quarto.  
See note above, ii i 13, at "thickest  
troop" And below, v iv. 49

16 *steely*] "steely harted" occurs  
in Golding's Ovid, xiv 831 Else-  
where Shakespeare has it in *All's  
Well that Ends Well*

17 *pangs of death*] Occurs in Pals-  
grave's *L'Esclaircissement*, 1530 A  
favourite with Shakespeare and in six  
plays at least. See *2 Henry VI* iii  
iii 24 But only three times of actual  
death specified

18. *clangor*] The earliest example  
in *New Eng Dict* Ben Jonson has  
it in his *Sad Shepherd* See v. ii.  
44

19 *revenge . . revenge*] This line  
recalls the ghost exclamations in those  
stilted plays Peele's *Alcazar*, *Locrine*,  
and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*

So, underneath the belly of their steeds, 20  
 That stain'd their fetlocks in his smoking blood,  
 The noble gentleman gave up the ghost  
*War.* Then let the earth be drunken with our blood,  
 I'll kill my horse because I will not fly  
 Why stand we like soft-hearted women here, 25  
 Wailing our losses, whiles the foe doth rage,  
 And look upon, as if the tragedy  
 Were play'd in jest by counterfeiting actors?  
 Here on my knee I vow to God above,  
 I'll never pause again, never stand still, 30  
 Till either death hath closed these eyes of mine,  
 Or fortune given me measure of revenge.  
*Edw.* O Warwick, I do bend my knee with thine;  
 And in this vow do chain my soul to thine!  
 And, ere my knee rise from the earth's cold face, 35  
 I throw my hands, mine eyes, my heart to Thee,  
 Thou setter up and plucker down of kings,

*throngs, Cride still for Warwike his thrise valiant son, Vntill with thousand swords he was beset, And manie wounds made in his aged brest, And as he tottering sate upon his steede, He waft his hand to me and cride aloud Richard, commend me to my valiant sonne, And still he cride Warwike reuenge my death, And with those words he tumbled off his horse, And so the noble Salisbury gaue up the ghost Q. 23, 24 Then let our blood not fly] 26, 27 Then let . his blood . . not fie Q. 25-28 Why stand we actors? omitted Q. 29-32 Here on my knee . . reuenge] 28-30 And here to God of Heauen I make a vow, Neuer to passe from forth this bloudy field Till I am full reuenged for his death Q. 33, 34 O Warwick . . to thine] 31, 32 Lord Warwike, knees in that vow now iorne my soule to thee Q. 35, 36. And, ere . . to Thee] omitted Q. 37-41 Thou . plucker kings, Beseeching Thee soul!] 33-35 Thou puller kings, vouchsafe a gentle victorie to vs, Or let us die before we loose the date Q.*

20 *tottering*] in Q (see Critical Notes above), swaying, swinging uncertainly Compare *King John*, v v 7 And Golding's Ovid (Iphis hanged himself) "And wretchedly did totter on the poste with strangled throte" (xiv 853)  
 23 *earth . . drunken with our blood*] Spenser has "blades . . dronke with blood" (*Faerie Queene*, i vi. 38), and Peele, "sword drunken with the blood of Israel" (*David and Bethsabe*, 472, b) And see *Faerie Queene*, iii vii. 47 See the passage quoted from Sylvester, below, ii v 12  
 27. *look upon*] "look on," be spec-tators Compare *Wytter's Tale*, v iii 100, *Richard II* iv i 237, and *Troilus and Cressida*, v vi 10  
 31 *death . . closed these eyes of mine*] Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*,

v ii 804 (in this edition) "the sudden hand of death close up mine eye"  
 31 *eyes of mine*] See note at "arms of mine," Part II i i 118, and below, ii. v 114 Frequent in Shakespeare. Always recalls "the revolt of mine" in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, i iii 111 See "right hand of mine," above, ii i 152  
 37 *Thou setter up . . knugs*] The line addressed here to the Deity is apparently addressed to Warwick in Q. See Psalm lxxv 7 and Daniel ii. 21 See below, iii iii 157, where the phrase is unmistakably applied to Warwick Compare also Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p 524 "I purpose not to spurne agaynste the prycke, nor labour to set up that God pulleth down."

Beseeching Thee, if with Thy will it stands  
 That to my foes this body must be prey,  
 Yet that Thy brazen gates of heaven may ope, 40  
 And give sweet passage to my sinful soul!<sup>1</sup>  
 Now, lords, take leave until we meet again,  
 Where'er it be, in heaven or in earth.

*Rich.* Brother, give me thy hand, and, gentle Warwick,  
 Let me embrace thee in my weary arms 45  
 I, that did never weep, now melt with woe  
 That winter should cut off our spring-time so.

*War* Away, away!<sup>1</sup> Once more, sweet lords, farewell.

*Geo.* Yet let us all together to our troops,  
 And give them leave to fly that will not stay, 50  
 And call them pillars that will stand to us;  
 And if we thrive promise them such rewards  
 As victors wear at the Olympian games.  
 This may plant courage in their quailing breasts,  
 For yet is hope of life and victory 55  
 Forslow no longer; make we hence amain [*Exeunt*]

42, 43. *Now, lords . . . in earth*] 42-44. (*Rich*) *Brothers, give me your hands, and let vs part And take our leaues untill we . . . in earth* Q 44-47 *Rich. Brother . . . spring-time so*] 40, 41 *Rich* *Come, come, awaie, and stand not to debate, For yet is hope of fortune good enough, and* 45-47 *Now I that neuer melt, now melt in wo To see these dire mishaps continue so Warwike farewell* Q 48 *War. Away . . . farewell*] 48 *War* *Awaie . . . farewell Exeunt Omnes* Q 49-56 *Geo* *Yet let . . . And call . . . to us, And . . . amain*] 36-39

40. *brazen gates*] difficult of entry  
 See note at "brazen caves," Part II.  
 III. ii 89 Peele has —

"Lords, these are they will enter  
*brazen gates*

And tear down lime and mortar  
 with their nails"

(*Edward I* (378, a)). Compare Kyd,  
*Spanish Tragedy*, III vii 9 "broken  
 through the *brazen gates* of hell"  
 (difficult of exit).

47 *spring-time*] Peele uses this  
 similarly "Flowering in pleasant  
*spring-time* of his youth" (*David and*  
*Bethsabe* (474, b))

50-52 *fly that will not stay*  
*that will stand . . . rewards*] Hall  
 continues from note at 15-23 above  
 "The lusty Kyng Edward, per-  
 ceuyng the courage of his trusty  
 friend the erle of Warwycke, made  
 proclamation that all men, whiche  
 were a frayde to fighte, shoulde in-  
 continent departe, d to all men that  
 tarried the battell, he promised great  
 rewardes with this addicion, that if any

souldiour, which voluntariie would  
 abide, and in, or before the conflict  
 flye, or turne his backe, that he that  
 could kill him should haue a great  
 remuneration and double wages" (p  
 253) Here is the famous "remunera-  
 tion" of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the  
 "Latin for three farthings" "And  
 hie promise to remunerate" are  
 the words in Q The verb is only in  
*Titus Andronicus*. Shakespeare seems  
 to have objected to the word On the  
 other hand, it is a favourite with Peele  
 It is in *Edward I.*, *Battle of Alcazar*,  
 and *Lochrine* (in which Peele had a  
 hand).

53 *Olympian games*] "Olympi  
 wrestling" is in *Troilus and Cressida*,  
 IV v. 194. See note in Todd's *Spenser*,  
 to *Faerie Queene*, III. vii 41.

56 *Forslow*] Not again in Shake-  
 speare. Delay Compare Golding's  
*Ovid*, II. 529 "shall feare of chiding  
 make me to *forslow*" It is in *Spenser*,  
 Peele and Marlowe.

56 *make we hence amain*] Peele has



SCENE IV.—*Another part of the field**Excursions Enter RICHARD and CLIFFORD.*

*Rich* Now, Clifford, I have singled thee alone  
 Suppose this arm is for the Duke of York,  
 And this for Rutland; both bound to revenge,  
 Wert thou environ'd with a brazen wall

*Clif.* Now, Richard, I am with thee here alone 5  
 This is the hand that stabb'd thy father York,  
 And this the hand that slew thy brother Rutland,  
 And here's the heart that triumphs in their death  
 And cheers these hands that slew thy sire and brother,  
 To execute the like upon thyself; 10  
 And so, have at thee!

*George* Then let us haste to cheere the souldiers harts, And call . . . to vs,  
 And hieily promise to remunerate Their trustie service in these dangerous warres Q

## SCENE IV

*Excursions Enter ] Ff, Alarmer, and then enter Richard at one  
 dore and Clifford at the other Q 1-4 Rich Now . . . brazen wall] 1-6  
 Rich A Clifford a Clifford Clif. A Richard a Richard Rich Now Clifford,  
 for Yorke & young Rutlands death, This thirsty sword that longs to drinke  
 thy bloud, Shall lop thy limes, and slise thy cursed hart, For to revenge the  
 murders thou hast made Q. 5-11 Now, Richard . . . their death . . . have  
 at thee! 7-13 Now, Richard . . . their deathes . . . have at thee Q They  
 fight ] Ff, Alarmer They fight, and then enters Warwicke and rescues  
 Richard and then exeunt omnes Q*

"made hence amain" in *Anglorum  
 Feriæ*. Peele is recalled in this scene  
 both in Q and independently in the  
 finished part For, "make we" see  
 note at "embrace we," Part I II. 1  
 13 and Introduction

## SCENE IV

1-4. *Now, Clifford* brazen  
*wall]* The wretched speech here in Q  
 may be credited to Peele Compare —

"this thirsty sword  
 Aims at thy head and shall I hope  
 ere long

Gage and divide thy bowels and  
 thy bulk"

(*Edward I* Sc v. (388, a). And "I  
 must lop his long shanks" (403, a)  
 The "slicing sword" (used by Mar-  
 lowe) is from Golding's Ovid, v 132.  
 See 1 *Henry VI* III. i. 116 for "mur-  
 der" expression

1. *singled*] chosen, selected Com-  
 pare *Love's Labour's Lost*, II 1 28  
 "We *single* you As our best-moving  
 fair solicitor." And see *Titus And-*

*ronicus*, II 1. 117 Elsewhere in 3  
*Henry VI*, with "forth," II 1. 12  
 above, and in *Titus Andronicus*, II III  
 69 And with "out" immediately be-  
 low, line 12, and in *Venus and Adonis*  
 Compare Greene, *Alcida* (iv 73)  
 "Meribates and my daughter had  
 singled themselves" (separated them-  
 selves from the rest) Spenser has  
 "he had her *singled* from the crew"  
 (*Faerie Queene*, III iv 45) Greene  
 has it (oddly used) again in *Euphues* to  
*Philautus* See below, v iv 49, note.  
 4 *brazen wall]* See note at "brazen  
 caves," 2 *Henry VI*. III 11 89, and  
 "brazen gates," above, II III 40  
 Impregnable. Only in these two  
 plays Often in the Bible, and in  
 romance, as in *Faerie Queene*, I. vii  
 44 —

"fast embard in mighty *brazen*  
*wall*,

He has them now four years be-  
 seiged"

II. *have at thee]* See 2 *Henry VI*.  
 II. III 92.

*They fight* WARWICK comes. CLIFFORD flies.

*Rich* Nay, Warwick, single out some other chase,  
For I myself will hunt this wolf to death [Exeunt.

SCENE V — *Another part of the field*

*Alarum* Enter King HENRY alone

*K. Hen* This battle fares like to the morning's war,  
When dying clouds contend with growing light,  
What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,  
Can neither call it perfect day nor night  
Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea  
Forc'd by the tide to combat with the wind;  
Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea

12, 13 *Nay* . . . *death*] omitted Q.

SCENE V

*Alarum* Enter . . . ] Ff, *Alarum* still, and then enter Henry Solus  
Q. 1-13 *This battle fell war*] 1-6 *Oh gracious God of heaven looke  
downe on vs, And set some endes to these incessant griefes, How like a  
mastlesse ship vpon the seas, This wofull battaile doth continue still, Now lean-*

12, 13 *Nay* . . . *death*] This from thirteen lines in the Quarto, all  
couplet is in 2 *Henry VI* v 11 14, 15 — the ideas of which (except the mastless  
"Hold, Warwick" seek thee out ship) are legitimately worked in, with  
some other chase, very many more. It is an eloquent  
For I myself must hunt this deer sermon upon a fruitful text. Ships,  
to death " as a metaphor, dropped out, perhaps  
There it occurs in the old play, but because they are elsewhere in this play  
not here. An overlooked repetition (1 iv 4, v. iv 10). In the latter pas-  
12 *single out*] See above, 11 iv 1 sage the mastless ship comes first  
(note) See below, in Q, at v iv 46 3, 4 *What time day nor night*]  
"single Edward from his strongest Compare Golding's Ovid (iv 495, 496),  
guard " 1567 —

12. *chase*] that which is hunted  
See note in 2 *Henry VI* v 11 14  
*New Eng Dict* quotes from Gower  
and Turberville. The word was  
adopted at sea later

SCENE V

1 *King Henry alone*] "When at  
the last King Henry espied the forces  
of his foes increase he with a  
few horsemen removing a little out of  
that place, expected the event of the  
fight, but beholde, suddenly his souldiers  
gave the backe, which when he sawe  
he fledd also " (*Polydore Vergil*, Cam-  
den Soc p 111)

1-54. *This battle wents on  
him*] This great utterance is developed

"The day was spent, and now was  
come the time which neyther  
nyght

Nor day, but middle bound of both  
a man may terme of right."

Hall says the battle began at about  
nine in the morning on 29th March,  
and lasted ten hours. The pursuit  
continued all night

3 *blowing of his nails*] See note at  
*Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 11 902 (in  
this edition). The Spenser quotation  
referred to there postdates this. The  
operation arises either from idleness or  
cold fingers or both combined

5-9 *mighty sea wind*] See 1.  
iv. 18-20—a sort of forecast of this  
noble passage. Compare here *Soliman*

Forc'd to retire by fury of the wind  
 Sometime the flood prevails, and then the wind;  
 Now one the better, then another best; 10  
 Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast,  
 Yet neither conqueror nor conquered  
 So is the equal poise of this fell war  
 Here on this molehill will I sit me down  
 To whom God will, there be the victory! 15  
 For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too,

*ing this way, now to that side drive, And none doth know to whom the dare will fall Q. 14-15 Here . . . victory! 7, 8 O would my death might stare these cruel (cruell, Q 2) jars! Would I had neuer rained, nor nere bin king! Q 16-21. For Margaret . . . happy life! 9-13 Margret and Clifford, chide me*

and Perseda, 1 11. 2 "But shall I like a mastlesse ship at sea Goe every way and not the way I would?"

11 *tugging to be victors*] Hall describes this, in words suggesting the tides (line 5) and also the father against son below. "This deadly battayle and bloody conflict [Towton] continued x hours in doubtfull victorie The one parte some tyme flowyng, and some tyme ebyng, but in conclusion Kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his men . . . that the other parte was ouercome This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vncler, and the tenaunt against his lorde" (p 256) This battle decided the fate of the house of Lancaster Rastell says "In this field and chase were slain 30,000 men"

11 *breast to breast*] Not in Shakespeare again. Golding has "*breast to breast to run*" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vi 304)

12 *neither conqueror nor conquered*] Joshua Sylvester (a most sensibly-sound poet) seems to remember this part of *Henry VI* in a passage in *The Sixth Day of the First Week, of Du Barres*. The date should be 1591, but the lines are a 1605 insertion. I quote from the Folio of 1621, p 117 —

"Or, like our own (late) York and Lancaster,  
 Ambitious broachers of that Viper war,  
 Which did the womb of their own Dam devour,

And spoild the freshest of fair England's Flowr,  
 When (White and Red) Rose against Rose, they stood,  
 Brother 'ga'nt Brother, to the knees in blood  
 While Wakefield, Barnet and S Alban's streets  
 Were drunke with deer blood of Plantagenets  
 Where, either Conquer'd, and yet neither won,  
 Sith, by them both, was but their Owne undon"

13 *equal poise*] weight in the balance. See *Measure for Measure*, ii iv 68 "*equal poise* of sin and charity" King Henry had ten hours for his soliloquy. See note at lines 3, 4

14 *on this molehill*] The old saying, "king of a molehill," probably suggested this word. The same allusion is in the account of the death of the Duke of York in Holinshed (from Whethamsted) "Some write that the duke was taken alive, and in derision caused to stand upon a molehill, on whose head they put a garland in steed of a crowne of sedges or bulrushes." "I had rather be a king of a molehill than subject to a mountain," was a saying of Sir Thos Stucley, quoted in Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*, i p 32, from Westcote's *View of Devonshire* (1563). Gabriel Harvey has "discover not the humour of aspiring Stukely, that would rather be the king of a mouhill, than the second in Ireland" (*Pierces Supererogation* (Grosart, ii 146), 1589). See above, i v 67

Have chid me from the battle, swearing both  
 They prosper best of all when I am thence  
 Would I were dead ! if God's good will were so,  
 For what is in this world but grief and woe ? 20  
 O God ! methinks it were a happy life,  
 To be no better than a homely swain,  
 To sit upon a hill, as I do now,  
 To carve out dials quaintly, point by point,  
 Thereby to see the minutes how they run, 25  
 How many make the hour full complete,  
 How many hours bring about the day ;  
 How many days will finish up the year ;  
 How many years a mortal man may live  
 When this is known, then to divide the times 30  
 So many hours must I tend my flock ;  
 So many hours must I take my rest ;  
 So many hours must I contemplate,  
 So many hours must I sport myself,  
 So many days my ewes have been with young ; 35  
 So many weeks ere the poor fools will ean ;  
 So many years ere I shall shear the fleece  
 So minutes, hours, days, months, and years,  
 Pass'd over to the end they were created,  
 Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave. 40  
 Ah ! what a life were this, how sweet ! how lovely !  
 Gives not the hawthorn-bush a sweeter shade  
 To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,

*from the fields, Swearing they had best successe when I was thence, Would God  
 that I were dead so all were well, Or would my crowne suffice, I were content  
 To yeeld it them and lue a private life Q 22-54 To be no better . wasis  
 on him] omitted Q*

18 *They prosper best . thence]*  
 See above, II. i. 73, 74 (note)

22 *swain]* shepherd, or shepherd's  
 "hand" See below at "curds"

24 *To carve out dials]* Was there  
 a shepherd's device of cutting sun-dials  
 on grassy plots, with an erection of a  
 slate or board as a device for a  
 gnomon ? Hence, too, the need to sit  
 on the top of the little hill

36 *poor fools]* simple creatures  
 Compare "poor dappled fools" (*As  
 You Like It*, II. i. 22).

36. *ean]* yeon "Earning time" is  
 in *Merchant of Venice* and *Pericles*.

38 *days, months]* Rowe read "days,  
 weeks, months" for the metre. The

line has enough breathings in it to  
 suffice, taken slowly

40 *white hairs . . . grave]* "Ye  
 schulen lede forth myn hoore heris  
 with sorewe to helle" (Wychliff,  
*Genesis* xlii 38 (1388)).

40 *quiet grave]* "And layes the  
 soule to sleepe in *quiet grave*"  
 (Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. ix xl. 7).

43. *silly sheep]* silly "fits well a  
 sheep" *Two Gentlemen of Verona*,  
 I. i. 81, *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 53.  
 Used of any helpless or irresponsible  
 creature, such as woman, or the lark  
 in the sparrowhawk's clutches  
 (Chaucer) Golding has "sielie  
 sheep," "sielie doves" and "sielie

Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy  
 To kings that fear their subjects' treachery? 45  
 O yes! it doth; a thousand-fold it doth  
 And to conclude, the shepherd's homely curds,  
 His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,  
 His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,  
 All which secure and sweetly he enjoys, 50  
 Is far beyond a prince's delicates,  
 His viands sparkling in a golden cup,  
 His body couched in a curious bed,  
 When care, mistrust, and treason waits on him.

*Alarum. Enter a Son that has killed his Father, with the dead body*

*Son* Ill blows the wind that profits nobody 55  
 This man, whom hand to hand I slew in fight,

55 *Alarum*] Ff, omitted Q. *Enter* .] Capell, *Enter a Sonne, that hath kill'd his Father, at one doore and a Father that hath kill'd his Sonne at another doore* Ff, *Enter a souldier with a dead man in his armes* Q. 55-58  
*Son* Ill blows . . . man, whom . . . fight, May . . . And I . . . now] 14-17  
*Sould* Ill blowes . . . man that I have slaine in fight to date, Mase . . . of some . . . And I will search to find them if I can Q

hare" in the first Book of his Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

47 *And to conclude*] See 2 Henry VI. iv. 1. 101

47. *curds*] See *Winter's Tale*, iv iv 161. And Spenser, *Shepherd's Calender*, November (Globe, 481, a) —

"So well she couth the shepherds entertayne

With cakes and cracknells, and such country chere

Ne would she scorne the simple Shepherds swaine,

For she would cal him often heame (home)

And giue him *curds* and clouted Creame"

(1579)

51. *delicates*] luxuries Examples in *New Eng Dict* date back to 1450

53 *curious*] elaborate, exquisite

54 *waits on him*] The close of this great soliloquy reminds us that it has nothing to do with furthering the action of the play. Soliloquies in Shakespeare are naturally vehicles for unfolding or developing the plot. Here, this one is merely a stop-gap (like a song) to allow a seemly space

to represent the passage of time (ten hours) in the battle, which the two following episodes, also merely illustrative, bring home to us realistically. With this speech, founded on the text of all pastoral efforts, shepherd's content, compare Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale* "sweete homewhere mean estate . . ." (Globe, p 521, b), and particularly his *Virgils Gnat* "Oh! the great happiness which shepherds have" (505, b) Cf seq p 505 See below, III 1 66 (note).

55 *Enter a Son* . . .] See extract from Hall above, at line 11

55 *Ill blows* . . .] An old proverb, taken in two senses —

"an yll wynd that blowth no man good

The blowes of whych blast is she" (Heywood, *Marriage of Wit and Science* (Song against Idleness), 1540) Merely a statement of a fact. Compare *A Knack to know a Knaue* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi 528) "It is an ill wind bloweth no man to profit" And in Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed Sharman, p. 158), 1546

56. *hand to hand*] See above, II. 1. 73.

May be possessed with some store of crowns ,  
 And I, that haply take them from him now,  
 May yet ere night yield both my life and them  
 To some man else, as this dead man doth me 60  
 Who's this ? O God ! it is my father's face,  
 Whom in this conflict I unwares have kill'd  
 O heavy times ! begetting such events.  
 From London by the king was I press'd forth ,  
 My father, being the Earl of Warwick's man, 65  
 Came on the part of York, press'd by his master ;  
 And I, who at his hands received my life,  
 Have by my hands of life bereaved him  
 Pardon me, God, I knew not what I did !  
 And pardon, father, for I knew not thee ! 70  
 My tears shall wipe away these bloody marks ;  
 And no more words till they have flow'd their fill.

*K Hen* O piteous spectacle ! O bloody times !  
 Whiles lions war and battle for their dens,  
 Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity. 75  
 Weep, wretched man, I'll aid thee tear for tear ,  
 And let our hearts and eyes, like civil war,  
 Be blind with tears, and break o'ercharg'd with grief.

*Enter a Father who has killed his Son, with the body in his arms.*

*Fath* Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,  
 Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold, 80  
 For I have bought it with an hundred blows.  
 But let me see is this our foeman's face ?  
 Ah, no, no, no, it is mine only son !

59, 60 *May yet . . . doth me*] omitted Q 61-63 *Who's this . . . events*] 18, 19 *But stay, Me thinks it is my fathers face, Oh I tis he whom I have slaine in fight* Q 64-68 *From him*] 20-22 *From London was I prest out by the King, My father he came on the part of Yorke, And in this conflict I have slaine my father* Q 69, 70 *Pardon me . . . not thee*] 23, 24. *Oh pardon . . . thee not* Q 71-78 *My tears with grief*] omitted Q (but see at 96 below) 79 *Enter* ] Capell, *Enter Father, bearing of his Sonne, ff; Enter another souldier with a dead man* Q 79-83 *Fath. Thou that . . . only son*] 25-28 2 *Soul Lie there thou that foughtst with me so stoutly, Now let me see what store of gold thou haste, But stase, me thinks this is no famous face Oh no it is my sonne that I have slaine in fight* Q

62 *unwares*] Only here in Shakespeare In Golding's Ovid "Unwares hereat gan secret sparkes within his breast to glow" (iv 828) And often in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, as i vi. 30, and twice in iii. vi 27 74 *battle*] The only example of the verb in Shakespeare Greene had used phrase See note at "saddest spectacle," ii. i 67 above Spenser has "pitiful spectacle" (*Faerie Queene*, ii. i 40) also  
 73 *piteous spectacle*] A Spenserian it See note in *1 Henry VI.* i iii. 13.

Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,  
 Throw up thine eye, see, see what showers arise, 85  
 Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,  
 Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart '  
 O, pity, God, this miserable age!  
 What stratagems, how fell, how butcherly,  
 Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural, 90  
 This deadly quarrel daily doth beget '  
 O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,  
 And hath bereft thee of thy life too late '

K Hen Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!  
 O, that my death would stay these ruthless deeds! 95  
 O, pity, pity; gentle heaven, pity!  
 The red rose and the white are on his face,  
 The fatal colours of our striving houses

84-87 *Ah, boy . . . and heart*] omitted Q 88-90 *O, pity . . . unnatural*  
 29, 30 *O monstrous times begetting such events* (cf. line 62 above) *How cruel*  
*bloody, and ironous, (ironous Q 3) Q* 91-93 *This deadly . . . O boy . . .*  
*soon . . . late*] 31-33 *This deadly . . . Poore boy . . . late . . . bereaved*  
*. . . soon Q* 94, 95 *Woe . . . ruthless deeds*] 34 *Wo . . . griepe* (compare  
 line 7 (Q) ending *ciull jars*, for 95) Q 96 *O, pity . . . pity*] 35, 36 *Whilst*  
*Lyons warre and battaile for their dens, Poore lambs do feele the rigor of their*  
*wraths Q* 97, 98 *The red . . . houses*] 37, 38 *The red . . . houses Q*.

90 *Erroneous*] The earliest example in *New Eng Dict* meaning criminal (astray from right) Not a common word at this time and only once elsewhere in Shakespeare (*Richard III* 1 iv 200) meaning misled. It is interesting to see the form in Q, "ironous," and later "ironous" "Ironous" was in use, meaning ironical, earlier. But it is not the word intended. Folio 1 gives it "erroneous."

92, 93 *too soon . . . too late*] These words are transposed, very likely by mere accident, in Q, "too late" means too recently, perhaps, as in *Lucrece*, l. 1801, and *Richard III* 1.1.1. 99 "Too late he died that might have kept that title" (Steevens). I think it matters very little, although there is a dissertation on the question amongst editors in Steevens. It is a sort of playing on the words in both passages, the sense being, both his life and death were misfortunes. Does not the *Lucrece* passage—

"I did give that life  
 Which she too early (=too soon)  
 and too late hath spilled,"

bear out this simple explanation which

suits both texts? The coincidence of passages in this play with identical ones in *Lucrece* is often before us. Rolfe has a tedious note. Halliwell gets an amazing literal meaning "Thy father begot thee at too late a period of his life . . . not old enough to fight him." The industrious Halliwell applies this to the Quarto. I suppose in this text the son is getting too old to fight!

94 *Woe above woe*] The Bible furnishes most of the variant phrases of "woe," but this seems unique. "Above" has the common use of "upon," as in "loss upon loss" (*MERCHANT OF VENICE*, III.1.96), and "jest upon jest" (*MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING*, II.1.252). A very common form "On top of."

95 *ruthful*] See note at "ruthless," above, 1 iv 31. The latter is in this play five times. Compare "pitiful" and "pitiless." Demanding pity on account of cruelty, and cruel because devoid of pity.

97-102 *red rose and white thousand lives*] Compare 1 *Henry VI.* II.1.126, where this "brawl" begins in the Temple Garden. In the Quartos

The one his purple blood right well resembles,  
The other his pale cheeks, methinks, presenteth. 100  
Wither one rose, and let the other flourish!

If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.

*Son.* How will my mother for a father's death

Take on with me and ne'er be satisfied!

*Fath.* How will my wife for slaughter of my son 105

Shed seas of tears and ne'er be satisfied!

*K. Hen.* How will the country for these woeful chances

Misthink the king and not be satisfied!

*Son.* Was ever son so rued a father's death?

*Fath.* Was ever father so bemoan'd his son? 110

*K. Hen.* Was ever king so grieved for subjects' woe?

Much is your sorrow, mine ten times so much.

*Son.* I'll bear thee hence, where I may weep my fill.

[Exit with the body.]

*Fath.* These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet,

99, 100 *The one presenteth*] omitted Q 101, 102 *Wither . . . If you . . . wither*] 39, 40 *Wither For if you strue, ten thousand lives must perish* Q 103-106 *Son How . . . a father's . . . satisfied!* How . . . son *Shed . . . satisfied!*] 41-44 1 *Should How my fathers . . . satisfied?* 2 *Sol How son, Take on with me and nere be satisfied?* Q 107, 108 *How satisfied*] 45, 46 *How will the people now misdeeme their Kings, Oh would my death their mundes could satisfie* Q 109 *Son Was . . . rued . . . death?*] 47 1 *Should Was . . . rude his fathers bloud to spir?* Q 110 *Fath Was so . . . son*] 48 2 *Soul Was . . . so unnaturall his son to kill?* Q 111, 112 *Was . . . much*] 50 *Was ever King thus greend and vexed still?* Q 113 *Son I'll fil*] 51, 52 1 *Should Ile beare thee hence from this accursed place, For wo is me to see my fathers face Exit with his father* Q 114-120 *These arms valiant sons*] omitted Q.

these two speeches of Henry's are represented by one, the more conspicuous ideas are common to both versions, but amplified in the final text

99 *purple blood*] See "purple falchion," I iv. 12, above (note).

104 *Take on with me*] chafe, rave, fret furiously See *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III v 40 (in this edition, note) Compare Nashe, *Pierce Penelless* (Grosart, II 55), 1592 "Some will take on like a mad man, if they see a pigge come to the table" The provincial meaning is applied to any violent mood, but especially loud lamentation

106 *seas of tears*] "wept a sea of tears" is in *Tamburlaine*, Part II. III. ii

108 *Misthink*] replaces "misdeem" of Q, which Shakespeare has not elsewhere. "Misthought" (misjudged)

is used in *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. II 176

109-111. *Was ever . . . Was ever . . . Was ever*] See Introduction to Part I, similar line-beginnings occur in *Lochner*, IV. II "Was never" is commoner in Spenser

109 *son so rued*] "Son so rude" in Q is a very odd change, it is like that of "buzz," below, for "busie" Probably from bad caligraphy.

114 *arms of mine*] See "eyes of mine," II III 31 above (note) See next note.

114 *winding-sheet*] See above, I. I. 129 Only there besides in Shakespeare. Compare this line with Marlowe's *Few of Malta*, III 1 (Dyce, 161, a, Routledge, 1859) "What sight is this! my Lodovico slain! These arms of mine shall be thy sepulchre" "Sepulchre" is used figuratively again, v. II 20.



My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre, 115  
 For from my heart thine image ne'er shall go.  
 My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell,  
 And so obsequious will thy Father be,  
 Son, for the loss of thee, having no more,  
 As Priam was for all his valiant sons. 120  
 I'll bear thee hence; and let them fight that will,  
 For I have murder'd where I should not kill

[Exit with the body.

K. Hen Sad-hearted men, much overgone with care,  
 Here sits a king more woeful than you are

Alarums. Excursions. Enter Queen MARGARET, the PRINCE  
 and EXETER.

Prince Fly, father, fly! for all your friends are fled, 125  
 And Warwick rages like a chafed bull  
 Away! for death doth hold us in pursuit

121, 122 I'll kill] 53, 54 Il kill Exit with his sonne Q  
 123, 124 Sad-hearted . . you are] 55, 56. Weepe wretched man, Ile lay  
 thee teare for teare, Here sits a king as woe begone as thee Q 125 Alarums  
 . ] FF 57 Alarums and enter the Queene Q 125-127 Prince Fly .  
 pursuit] 59, 60 Enter Prince Edward Prince. Oh father fly, our men have  
 left the field, Take horse sweet father, let us saue our selues Q

123 overgone with care] Compare  
 Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book v (ii. 53, ed  
 1739) "Philanax nothing the milder  
 for Pyrocles purging himself, but rather  
 being so overgon with rage that  
 he forgot in this oration his precise  
 method of oratory" "Overcome" in  
 our use Shakespeare made many com-  
 pounds with "over" in various senses  
 of the word But here Sidney precedes  
 him. Not in Q

124 woeful] replaces "woe-be-  
 gone" of Q, a word occurring once in  
 Shakespeare, 2 *Henry IV* i 1 71  
 "Ile lay thee teare for teare," in Q,  
 meaning "Ile stale thee," etc., is  
 Shakespearian language.

125 Fly, father, fly] Hall says of  
 this long contest "the great ruer of  
 Wharfe [from the "dead carcassis"]  
 broke, and all the water comyng from  
 Towton was coloured with bloude  
 The chace continued all night, and the  
 most parte of the next day, and euer ye  
 Northren men, when they saw or per-  
 ceued any aduantage, returned again  
 and fought with their enemies to the  
 great losse of both partes . . After

this great victorie, Kyng Edward rode  
 to Yorke, where he was with all  
 solempnitie receyued and first he  
 caused the heddes of his father, the  
 erle of Salisbury, and other his frendes  
 to be taken from the gates and to be  
 buried with their bodies. And there  
 he caused the erle of Devonshyre and  
 in other to be behedded and set their  
 heddes in the same place After that  
 he sent out men on light horses, to  
 espye in what parte King Henry lurked,  
 which hearinge of the irrecuperable  
 losse of his frendes, departed incon-  
 tinent with his wife and sonne, to the  
 towne of Barwycke, and leauynge the  
 duke of Somerset there, came to the  
 kynges courte of Scotland, requyring  
 of him and his counsaill, ayde, succor,  
 relefe and comfort" (p 256).

126 rages like a chafed bull] Com-  
 pare *Taming of the Shrew*, i 1 203  
 "Rage like an angry boar chafed with  
 sweat" "The chafed boar" occurs  
 in *Titus Andronicus*, iv 1 138 "The  
 chafed (chauffed) Boar" occurs several  
 times in Golding's Ovid

*Q Mar* Mount you, my lord, towards Berwick post amain  
 Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds  
 Having the fearful flying hare in sight, 130  
 With fiery eyes sparkling for very wrath,  
 And bloody steel grasp'd in their ireful hands,  
 Are at our backs, and therefore hence amain  
*Exe* Away! for vengeance comes along with them  
 Nay, stay not to expostulate, make speed, 135  
 Or else come after I'll away before  
*K Hen* Nay, take me with thee, good sweet Exeter  
 Not that I fear to stay, but love to go  
 Whither the queen intends Forward; away!  
 [Exeunt]

SCENE VI — *Another part of the field*

*A loud alarum Enter CLIFFORD, wounded*

*Clif* Here burns my candle out; ay, here it dies,  
 Which, whiles it lasted, gave King Henry light  
 O Lancaster, I fear thy overthrow  
 More than my body's parting with my soul.  
 My love and fear glued many friends to thee, 5  
 And, now I fall, thy tough commixture melts,

128-133 *Q Mar* Mount you hence amain] 56-58 *Queen* Aware my lord  
 to Barwicke presentlie, The date is lost, our friends are murdered, No hope is left  
 for vs, therefore aware *Q* 134-136. Away! for . . . them Nay, stay . . .  
 speed . . . before] 61-63 *Enter Exeter.* . . . Aware my lord for . . . him Nay  
 stand . . . hast before *Q* 137-139 Nay . . . away! 64 *Nay* staid  
 good Exeter, for Ile along with thee *Q*.

## SCENE VI

*A loud . . . ] Ff, Enter Clifford wounded with an arrow in his necke Q*  
 1-7. Here out, ay Which . . . O thy . . . with my . . . I  
 fall, thy . . . strengthening . . . York ] 1-9 Heere . . . out, That whilst  
 . . . Ah . . . thine from my . . . I die, that . . . strengthened . . . Yorke  
*Q*

128 towards amain] After the  
 words "bloody-minded queen" (ii v  
 32) there occurs in *Q* "That now  
 towards Barwicke doth poste amaine"  
 129-132 brace of greyhounds .  
 bloody steel] The images get too much  
 on one another's necks here

132 ireful] See above, ii. i 57  
 135 stay not to expostulate] Com-  
 pare this line with *First Contention*, v.  
 ii 64 (omitted in *2 Henry VI*) "Come  
 stand not to expostulate, lets go" This  
 scene furnishes more extensive altera-

tions in and additions to the Quarto than  
 have occurred yet. "Expostulate,"  
 meaning dilate, discuss, is an obsolet-  
 ism Peele uses the word (not com-  
 mon) at the beginning of *David and*  
*Bethsabe*

## SCENE VI

i with an arrow in his necke] See  
 Hall's account of Clifford's death, at  
 1 41 below  
 6 commixture] See *Love's Labour's*  
*Lost*, v ii 296, where the word is used

Impairing Henry, strengthening misproud York  
 [The common people swarm like summer flies, . . .]  
 And whither fly the gnats but to the sun?  
 And who shines now but Henry's enemies? 10  
 O Phœbus, hadst thou never given consent  
 That Phaethon should check thy fiery steeds,  
 Thy burning car never had scorched the earth,  
 And, Henry, hadst thou sway'd as kings should do,  
 Or as thy father and his father did, 15  
 Giving no ground unto the house of York,  
 They never then had sprung like summer flies,  
 I and ten thousand in this luckless realm

9 And . . . sun? 8, 9 The common people swarmed like summer flies, And  
 . . . flies . . . sun? Q 10-16 And who . . . enemies? . . . sway'd . .  
 never had scorched On as no ground York] 10-16 And who  
 . . . enemy? had never scorched . . . lured And as no foot . .  
 Yorke Q 17 They flies] omitted Q 18-30 I and luckless  
 realm . . . death hair too much lenity nor strength hold  
 out . . . pity, For hath got . . . deadly fathers' bosoms breast]  
 17-29 I and . . . wofull land deaths . . . throne . . . lenity . . . no  
 strength . . . hold our pity me, And . . . is got bleeding fathers,  
 now come split my breast Q

again Spenser uses the word in *Colin Clouts Come Home againe*, l 802, of the union of male and female This would perhaps precede any example in *New Eng. Dict.* (1591), for the 1588 date of *Love's Labour's Lost* is impossible Greene has the word in his *Farewell to Follie*, about the same date

7 misproud] Peele uses this word, "this misproud malcontent," *Descensus Astræ* (542, b), 1593 But the word is very old though uncommon at this time. Wrongly proud, arrogant

8 The . . . flies] Theobald, followed by most editors (including Cambridge), introduced here this Quarto line The following line, "And who," etc, serves to introduce the metaphor however, albeit abruptly, but not unpoetically There are reasons for its omission The line, "The common people by numbers swarm to us," below, iv 11 2, is very nearly a repetition of it And again, in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (477, a) "To whom the people do by thousands swarm," preceded both Shakespeare weaned of it Shakespeare used "common people" in *2 Henry VI* i 1 158, not elsewhere, excepting in the two passages Very possibly Shake-

spere intended to transpose 9 and 10, and forgot Moreover, "summer flies" is much too near in 19 below A strong argument in favour of the omission is that "sun" is equivalent here to York, being the badge, as in *Richard III* i 1 2 See above, ii 1 40, and below, v vi. 23

12 Phaethon] See above, i iv 33  
 12 fiery steeds] Golding has (of Phœbus) "His fieriforming Steedes full fed with juice of Ambrosie" (ii 160) Shakespeare has "fiery steed" in *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *Richard II* "Check" here means control, drive Milton used the word similarly in *Il Penseroso* (*New Eng. Dict.*) Here it seems an unhappy term.

17 summer flies] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, v 11 408, and *Othello*, iv 11 66 See below, iv 11 2 This line is not in Q, giving a further argument against insertion of line at 8

18 luckless] See again below, v. vi 45 (but not elsewhere in Shakespeare), and note the assemblage of words with -less in these lines merciless, bootless, cureless and luckless "Luckless" is in Golding's Ovid, xiv 603, Spenser, i vi 19, and Peele, *Arraignement of Paris*, Act iv

Had left no mourning widows for our death,  
 And thou this day hadst kept thy chair in peace 20  
 For what doth cherish weeds but gentle air ?  
 And what makes robbers bold but too much lenity ?  
 Bootless are plaints, and cureless are my wounds ;  
 No way to fly, nor strength to hold out flight  
 The foe is merciless, and will not pity , 25  
 For at their hands I have deserved no pity.  
 The air hath got into my deadly wounds,  
 And much effuse of blood doth make me faint.  
 Come, York and Richard, Warwick and the rest ,  
 I stabb'd your fathers' bosoms, split my breast 30  
*[He faints]*

*Alarum and retreat* Enter EDWARD, GEORGE, RICHARD,  
 MONTAGUE, WARWICK, and Soldiers

*Edw* Now breathe we, lords good fortune bids us pause,  
 And smooth the frowns of war with peaceful looks.  
 Some troops pursue the bloody-minded queen,

31 *Alarum* .] Ff, 30 Enter Edward, Richard and Warwike, and souldiers  
 Q 31, 32 Now . looks] 30, 31 Thus farre our fortunes keeps an upward  
 Course, and we are grast with wreathes of victorie Q 33-37 Some troops . . .  
 queen, That . But think . . with them ?] 32-34 Some troopes . . . Queene,

19 *mourning widows for our death*] A good example of Shakespeare's trick of transposing words—widows mourning for our death (or deaths, as Q read preferably). There is an early instance in Hall's Chronicle, quoted above at i. iv 80 "the dukes head of York" See note at "blind bitch's puppies" (*Merry Wives of Windsor*, III v 11, in this edition).

22. *lenity*] See 1 Henry VI v. iv. 125, and above, II ii 9. This asinine line is better in Q, omitting "too much"

23 *cureless*] Again in *Merchant of Venice*, IV i. 142 Incurable Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Sixt Day of the First Week, p. 136) "a surgeon minding off-to-cut Som cureless limb." An early case of amputation under anaesthetics (1591)

28 *effuse of blood*] Nowhere else in Shakespeare Compare the beginning of Peele's *Tale of Troy* (1589) —

"whose  
 . . . bosom bleeds with great effuse  
 of blood  
 That long war shed" (550, a, Dyce).

Again we have signs of Peele (mis-proud). Needless to say he was not capable of this speech *New Eng Dict* has only this example and one later from Heywood (1631)

31. *breathe we*] See "Make we" above, II iii 55 Let us rest and refresh ourselves See extract from *Polydore Vergil* at l 32

32 *frowns of war*] Not in Q. Compare *Richard III* I i 9 "Grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front"

33 *Some troops pursue* .] "Edward, that he might use well the victory, after he had a litle refreshed his souldiers from so great travaile and payne, sent out certaine light horsemen to apprehend King Henry or the queene in the fight" (*Polydore Vergil*, Camden Soc p. III).

33 *bloody-minded*] Only in 2 Henry VI. IV i 36. In the Quartos both here, and there. After this line occurs the "post amain to Berwick" (Q) transferred to II. v. 128.

That led calm Henry, though he were a king,  
As doth a sail, fill'd with a fretting gust, 35  
Command an argosy to stem the waves.

But think you, lords, that Clifford fled with them ?

*War* No, 'tis impossible he should 'escape ;  
For, though before his face I speak the words,  
Your brother Richard mark'd him for the grave , 40  
And wheresoe'er he is, he's surely dead.

[*Clifford groans and dies.*

*Edw* Whose soul is that which takes her heavy leave ?

*Rich* A deadly groan, like life and death's departing

*Edw* See who it is and, now the battle's ended,  
If friend or foe let him be gently us'd 45

*Rich* Revoke that doom of mercy, for 'tis Clifford ,  
Who not contented that he lopp'd the branch  
In hewing Rutland when his leaves put forth,  
But set his murdering knife unto the root  
From whence that tender spray did sweetly spring, 50  
I mean our princely father, Duke of York

*War* From off the gates of York fetch down the head,  
Your father's head, which Clifford placed there ;

*That now towards Barwicke doth poste amaine, But thinke you that Clifford is fled awate with them ?* Q. 38-41 No he is, he's . . . dead] 35-38. No . . . he be I warrant him dead Clifford groanes and then dies Q. 42-45 Whose soul is that . . . her . . . departing . . . If friend . . . gently us'd] 39-42 Harke, what soule is this . . . his . . . departure . . . Friend friendlie used Q. 46-51 Revoke . . . Clifford, Who . . . our princely York] 43-45 Reverse . Clifford, Who kild our tender brother Rutland, And stabd our princely . York Q. 52-55 From Instead whereof let this . . . answered] 46-49. From . Instead of that, let his . answered Q

36 *argosy*] A merchant ship of the largest kind, especially Venetian In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II. i. i.

40 *mark'd him for the grave*] See *Richard II* iv. 236 and Part II. iv. ii. 131 "mark'd for the gallows"

41 *Clifford groans and dies*] Hall describes Clifford's death "After this proclamation [Scene II. iii. 50-52, note] ended, the lord Fawconbridge . . . with the forward . . . intended to haue environed and enclosed the lord Clyfford and his company, but they beyng thereof aduertised, departed in great haste toward Kyng Henrie's army, but they met with some that they looked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware For the iord Cliffforde, either for heat or payne, putting off his gorget, sodainly

with an arrowe (as some say without an hedde) was striken into the throte and incontinent rendered hys spirit . . . not farr from Towton This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneeling on his knees" (p. 255)

43. *departing*] parting, separating. See *Cymbeline*, I. i. 108 "the loathness to depart would grow." So, in the *Marriage Service* [until 1662], "Till death us depart."

49-51. *root . . . spray . York*] Compare Part I. ii. v. 41 "Sweet stem from York's great stock"

51 *I mean*] See below, iv. vi. 51, and v. iii. 7 This poor sort of filling has been noted on in Part I v. v. 20 It occurs several times in *Lochner*. Peele uses it.

- Instead whereof let this supply the room  
Measure for measure must be answered 55
- Edw* Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house,  
That nothing sung but death to us and ours  
Now death shall stop his dismal threatening sound,  
And his ill-boding tongue no more shall speak
- War* I think his understanding is bereft 60  
Speak, Clifford, dost thou know who speaks to thee?  
Dark cloudy death o'er shades his beams of life,  
And he nor sees nor hears us what we say
- Rich* O, would he did! and so perhaps he doth.  
'Tis but his policy to counterfeit, 65  
Because he would avoid such bitter taunts  
Which in the time of death he gave our father
- Geo* If so thou think'st, vex him with eager words
- Rich* Clifford, ask mercy and obtain no grace.
- Edw* Clifford, repent in bootless penitence 70
- War* Clifford, devise excuses for thy faults
- Geo* While we devise fell tortures for thy faults
- Rich* Thou didst love York, and I am son to York
- Edw* Thou pitied'st Rutland, I will pity thee
- Geo*. Where's Captain Margaret, to fence you now? 75

56-59 *Bring sung . ill-boding speak* 50-52 *Bring . sung to us but blood and death, Now his evil boding speake Q.* 60-63 *I think Speak, Clifford we say* 53-56 *I think . Say Clifford we save Q* 64-67 *O, would 'Tis but father* 57-60 *Oh would And tis his policy that in the time of death, He might avoid such bitter storms as he In his houre of death did give unto our father Q* 68-73 *If vex him son to York* 61-66 *Richard if thou thinkest so, vex him fault fault pittiedst Yorke and I am sonne to Yorke Q* 74-77 *Thou pitied'st . I will . not an oath ?* 67-70 *Thou pittiedst . and I will not an oth ? Q*

56 *screech-owl*] Various written at this time as skritch owl, shriek owl, or, as here, in Golding's Ovid, xv 887 "A signe of mischiefe unto men, the sluggish skreching Owle" (Golding, v 682), "The messenger of death, the ghastly owle" (Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I v 30) Properly the screech-owl is the white owl not the hooter or tawny 59. *ill-boding*] Occurs again I Henry VI. iv v. 6 and see note. See "night-owl" above, II 1. 130, a real bird The owl here is rather a poet's or folklore imagination. Q has "evill-boding."

60. *bereft*] destroyed, annihilated Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I ii 42 —

"all my senses were bereaved quight"  
62 *Dark . life*] Compare this poetic line with *Richard III.* I iii 268 —

"my son .  
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath  
Hath in eternal darkness folded up"

68 *eager*] "full of asperity, bitter" (Schmidt) Compare "the bitter clamour of two eager tongues" (*Richard II.* I i 49) See above, I iv. 4 An applied use of the literal sense, sour, as in Sonnet 118, and *Hamlet*, I v 69 75. *to fence*] to protect So Golding's Ovid. "As if they had bene plates of

*War* They mock thee, Clifford swear as thou wast wont.

*Rich* What! not an oath? nay, then the world goes hard

When Clifford cannot spare his friends an oath.

I know by that he's dead, and, by my soul,

If this right hand would buy two hours' life, 80

That I in all despite might rail at him,

This hand should chop it off, and with the issuing blood

Stifle the villain whose unstaunched thirst

York and young Rutland could not satisfy

*War* Ay, but he's dead off with the traitor's head, 85

And rear it in the place your father's stands

And now to London with triumphant march,

There to be crowned England's royal king

From whence shall Warwick cut the sea to France,

And ask the Lady Bona for thy queen 90

77-84 *nay, then* hours . . . *despite* him, *This* chop  
unstaunched satisfy] 70-77 *Nay then I know he's dead* *Tristram, when*  
*Clifford cannot spare his friend an oath* *By this I know he's dead, and by my*  
*soul, Would this right hand buy but an hour's contempt him, I'd*  
*cut . . . unstaunched satisfy* Q 85-90 *Ay, but he's* royal king  
cut the sea queen] 78-83 *I, but he is dead* lawfull king .  
From thence . . . cross the seas *Queen* Q

mayle did fence him well enough" (iii 76). And Peele's *Edward I* sc ii. (384, b) —

"not to guard her safe

Or fence her sacred person"

See again, iii iii 98 And *Timon of Athens*, iv i. 3

77 *the world goes hard*] Compare "the world goes well" (*Coriolanus*, iv vi 5) Compare Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (449, b) "Yet, father, here is a piece of cake for you, as hard as the world goes" Dyce quotes from the *Return from Parnassus* (1606), at the passage in Peele

78 *Clifford* oath] Probably an allusion to the swearing habits of the Northerners, taken as a whole It is often referred to See note to *Othello*, v ii 218 (in this edition)

79 *I know by that he's dead*] The removal of the repetition in Q is to be noted.

82 *This hand . . . blood*] Capell altered to "I'd chop it off," following the Quarto's "I'd cut it off," nearly But Richard meant that with his left hand he'd chop off his right He must not be denied this delicate attention, especially as it occurs below, v i 50, 51

83 *unstaunched thirst*] unquenchable

thirst Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, Chorus, sc iv (470, a) —

"Pursues with eager and unstaunched thirst

The greedy longings of his loathsome flesh"

And Lyly's *Endymion*, ii ii 70 "teare the flesh with my teeth . . . so eager is my unstaunched stomacke" "Unstaunched" in Q

85, 86 *head . . . place your father's stands*] See extract at ii v 125.

87, 88 *triumphant march . . . crowned . . . king*] Hall says, after the "glorious victory" at Towton "the commons of the Realme began to drawe to hym, and to take his parte . . . after the fashion and maner of a triumphant conqueror and victorious champion, with great pompe (he) returned to London and the xxix daie of June, was at Westminster with all solempnitie crowned and anoynted Kyng" (p 257)

89, 90 *Warwick* Lady Bona for thy queen] See below at iii i 89, 90

89 *cut the sea*] cleave the sea Compare Spenser, *Fairie Queene*, ii viii 5 "to cut his airy ways" Golding has, however, "Cut over the Ionian

So shalt thou sinew both these lands together;  
 And, having France thy friend, thou shalt not dread  
 The scatter'd foe that hopes to rise again;  
 For though they cannot greatly sting to hurt,  
 Yet look to have then<sup>1</sup> buzz to offend thine ears 95  
 First will I see the coronation,  
 And then to Brittany<sup>2</sup> I'll cross the sea,  
 To effect this marriage<sup>3</sup>, so it please my lord.  
*Edw.* Even as thou wilt, s'weet Warwick, let it be,  
 For in thy shoulder do I build my seat, 100  
 And never will I undertake the thing  
 Wherein thy counsel and consent is wanting  
 Richard, I will create thee Duke of Gloucester;  
 And George, of Clarence; Warwick, as ourself,  
 Shall do and undo as him pleaseth best. 105  
*Rich.* Let me be Duke of Clarence, George of Gloucester,  
 For Gloucester's dukedom is too ominous  
*War* Tut, that's a foolish observation

91-98 So shalt . . . shalt not . . . For though . . . buzz to . . . will I  
 . . . To effect . . . so it . . . lord] 84-91 So shalt . . . needst not . . . And  
 though . . . busie to . . . Ile see the coronation done, And afterward Ile crosse  
 the seas to France, To effect . . . if it . . . Lord Q. 99 Even as . . . sweet  
 . . . be] 92 Euen . . . good . . . be Q. 100-102 For in . . . wanting]  
 omitted Q. 103-105 Richard . . . ourself, Shall . . . best] 93-95 But first before  
 we goe, George kneele downe Wee here create thee Duke of Clarence, and girt  
 thee with the sword. Our younger brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, War-  
 wike, as my selfe shal . . . best Q. 106-110 Let me be . . . Tut, . . . foolish

sea" (xv 56) And a few lines previ-  
 ously "lucky cut" means sea voyage  
 91 *sinew both together*] Compare  
 2 *Henry IV* iv 1 172 —

"All members of our cause both  
 here and hence,  
 That are insinewed to this action"  
 Knit together strongly, as if with  
 sinews A portmanteau word  
 95 *buzz*] See note to this verb at  
 Part II. i. ii. 99 "Busie" (Q) is an  
 odd misprint

97 *Brittany*] France, in Q.  
 100. *in thy shoulder*] on thy back.  
 Shoulder is often "back" in Shake-  
 speare

103, 104 *Richard . . . of Gloucester*,  
*And George, of Clarence*] After his  
 coronation, Hall says "In the whiche  
 yere, he called his high Court of Parlia-  
 ment. . . And afterward he created  
 his two younger brethren Dukes, that  
 is to saie Lorde George, Duke of  
 Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Glou-

cester, and Lorde Ihon Neveill, brother  
 to Richard erle of Warwike, he first  
 made Lorde Mountacute and afterwards  
 created hym Marques Mountacute"  
 (p. 258)

107. *Gloucester's dukedom . . . omin-  
 ous*] At the death of the good duke  
 Humphrey in "the XXV Yere," Hall  
 says "It seemeth to many men, that  
 that name and title of Gloucester hath  
 been vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse  
 . . . as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of  
 Woodstocke . . . and this duke Hum-  
 frey . . . So that this name of Gloucester  
 is taken for an vnhappy and vnfortunate  
 style, as the proverbe speaketh of  
 Seianes horse, whose rider was euer  
 vnhorsed and whose possessor was euer  
 brought to miserie"

108. *observation*] remark. Nowhere  
 else in Shakespere, and the earliest in  
*New Eng Dict*, so that the stereotyped  
 expression, "that's a foolish observa-  
 tion," without which conversation would



Richard, be Duke of Gloucester. Now to London,  
To see these honours in possession

110

[*Exeunt*

. . . *possession*] 97-101. *Let me be Tush . childish . possession*  
*Exeunt Omnes Q.*

be impossible, belongs to Shakespeare. *ric possession*] receives similar quadri-  
In Q it is "that 's a childish *observa- tion*" syllabic weight in *King John*, II 1.  
266. "

## ACT III

SCENE I — *A forest in the north of England.**Enter two Keepers, with cross-bows in their hands*

*First Keep.* Under this thick-grown brake we'll shroud ourselves,

For through this laund anon the deer will come,

And in this covert will we make our stand,

Culling the principal of all the deer

*Second Keep* I'll stay above the hill, so both may shoot 5

*First Keep* That cannot be, the noise of thy cross-bow

Will scare the herd, and so my shoot is lost.

Here stand we both, and aim we at the best

And, for the time shall not seem tedious,

I'll tell thee what befell me on a day 10

In this self place where now we mean to stand

*Second Keep* Here comes a man, let's stay till he be past

ACT III SCENE I ] omitted Q, Ff *Enter* .] Malone, *Enter two keepers with bow and arrowes* Q, *Enter Sinklo, and Humphrey* Ff 1-12 *First Keep* (Sink Ff) . *Second Keep* (Hum Ff) . *Here comes* . let's *past*] 1-3 *Keeper* Come, lets take our stands upon this hill, And by and by the deere will come this waze But staze, here comes lets listen him a while Q

*Enter two Keepers*] The Folio reading, "Enter Sinklo, and Humfrey," probably refers to two actors Sinklo is mentioned in the stage-directions of the *Taming of the Shrew* (Ind 1. 86) Malone suggested Humphrey Jeaffes as the other A similar variation has taken place already at I ii 47. The best parallel I am aware of for this hunting scene in our early drama, is Shakespeare's own one in *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 1 and iv 11 I must refer to the edition in this series, Introduction, xlvii 1, and notes at the passages. Shake-

speare evidently prefers the cross-bow (with its bolts) in spite of the noise, to the bow and arrow of his earlier days

2 *laund*] A common early form of "lawn," occurring again in *Venus and Adonis* "Lawn" is not in Shakespeare "Laund" is common in Golding's Ovid.

3 *stand*] See *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv 1 10, and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v v 247, and notes, in this edition. And *Cymbeline*, III. iv 111.

11. *self*] same. Often in Shakespeare.



*K. Hen.* Let me embrace thee, sour adversity,  
 For wise men say it is the wisest course 25  
*Second Keep.* Why linger we? let us lay hands upon him  
*First Keep.* Forbear awhile, we'll hear a little more  
*K. Hen.* My queen and son are gone to France for aid,  
 And, as I hear, the great commanding Warwick  
 Is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister 30  
 To wife for Edward. If this news be true,  
 Poor queen and son, your labour is but lost,  
 For Warwick is a subtle orator,  
 And Lewis a prince soon won with moving words.  
 By this account then Margaret may win him, 35  
 For she's a woman to be pitied much  
 Her sighs will make a battery in his breast,  
 Her tears will pierce into a marble heart,  
 The tiger will be mild whiles she doth mourn;

24-27 *Let me . . little more*] omitted Q 28, 29 *My . . son*  
*France And . . Warwick*] 13, 14 *My . . sonne poore soules*  
*France, and Warwicke Q.* 30-34 *Is thither . . Edward If true*  
*. . but lost, For Warwick And Lewis words*] 15-19 *To intreat a*  
*marriage with the ladie Bona, If this be true . . but spent in vaine, For*  
*Lewis is a . . with words, And Warwick . . orator Q* 35-42 *By this*  
*account . . Warwick, to give*] omitted Q.

24 *sour adversity*] Compare Costard's "welcome the sour cup of prosperity" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 1. 316). Some old joke lies hidden here Shakespeare was probably adding to *Love's Labour's Lost* at this date. Note line 32. But the reading here is Dyce's conjecture. The Folio has the "*sower Adversaries*"

30, 31. *to crave the French king's sister To wife for Edward*] See ll 89, 90, last scene. And below, iii. iii. 50 Hall writes on this subject of Edward's proposed match "at length in the same yere (1463), he (Warwick) came to Kyng Lewes the XI then beyng French Kyng, living at Tours, and with greute honour was there receued and interteined, of whom, for Kyng Edward his master, he demaunded to haue in marriage the lady Bona, doughter to Lewes duke of Savoy and sister to the lady Carlot, then French Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This mariage semeth pollitiquely deuised. Kyng Edward therefore thought it necessary to haue affinitie in France . . . trusting by this

marriage, quene Margaret . . should haue no aide, succor, nor any comfort of ye French Kyng . . wherefore Quene Carlot much desirous to aduance her blood to so greute a prince as Kyng Edward was, obteyned both the good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrimony on that syde was clerely assented to" (253, 254). For the immediate continuation, see below, scene ii, line 2, at "This lady's husband"

37 *sighs make a battery*] Compare *Venus and Adonis*, 425, 426.—

"Dismiss . . your feigned tears . . .

For where a heart is hard they make no battery"

38. *tears . . pierce . . marble heart*] Compare "Much rain wears the marble" (iii. ii. 50 below) And *Lucrece*, 560 "Tears . . through marble wear with raining" "Pierce the heart" was a set expression, often in Shakespeare. Compare *Tamburlaine*, Part I. i. 11 (Dyce, 12, b). "my heart to be with gladness pierced"

And Nero will be tainted with remorse, 40  
 To hear and see her plaints, her brinish tears  
 Ay, but she's come to beg, Warwick, to give,  
 She on his left side craving aid for Henry,  
 He on his right asking a wife for Edward  
 She weeps, and says her Henry is deposed, 45  
 He smiles, and says his Edward is install'd,  
 That she, poor wretch, for grief can speak no more  
 Whiles Warwick tells his title, smooths the wrong,  
 Inferreth arguments of mighty strength,  
 And in conclusion wins the king from her, 50  
 With promise of his sister, and what else,  
 To strengthen and support King Edward's place  
 O Margaret! thus 'twill be, and thou, poor soul,  
 Art then forsaken, as thou went'st forlorn

*Second Keep* Say, what art thou that talk'st of kings and  
 queens? 55

*K. Hen* More than I seem, and less than I was born to  
 A man at least, for less I should not be,  
 And men may talk of kings, and why not I?

*Second Keep* Ay, but thou talk'st as if thou wert a king  
*K. Hen* Why, so I am, in mind, and that's enough 60

43-46 *She on . . . He on she weeps . . . He smiles . . . install'd* 20-  
 23. *He laughs . . . instalde, she weepes He on his right hand . . . She*  
*on . . . Henry Q 47-54 That she went'st forlorne* omitted Q 55-  
 58 *Say, what and less . . . A man . . . be . . . And not I?* 24-27  
*What . . . for lesse I should not be A man and more I cannot be, And*  
*. . . not I?* Q 59, 60 *Ay, but mind enough* 28, 29. *I but . . .*  
*mind though not in shew* Q

40. *tainted with remorse*] improperly  
 touched with pity See "tainted with  
 such shame" (Part I iv. v 46), and  
 "tainted with a thousand vices" (*ibid.*  
 v iv 45) And "taint with love"  
 (*ibid.* v iii 183) means impure love  
 Always the term has the sense of a  
 blemish Pity would be a blemish in  
 such a conception as Nero's character  
 He is a type with Shakespeare See  
 "You bloody Neros" (*King John*, v.  
 ii 152, and above, Part I i iv 95)  
 The view of Margaret here is to be  
 remembered Shakespeare is not nearly  
 done with her in this play

41 *brinish tears*] salt tears See  
 "brinish bowels" (of the surge) (*Titus*  
*Andronicus*, iii i. 97) And *Lucrece*,  
 1213, *Lover's Complaint*, 284 Shake-  
 speare has not "briny" See Intro-  
 duction to Part I., on adjectives And

Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II iii v  
 (Dyce, 58, b) "Which washeth Cyprus  
 with his *brinish* waves" Earlier in  
*Euphues*

43-46 *She on his left He on*  
*his right She weeps . . . He*  
*smiles . . .]* Kyd has similar lines  
 "He spake this other . . . He  
 promise . . . this other . . . He  
 wan my love, this other conquered  
 me" (*Spanish Tragedie*, i ii 162-165  
 (Boas))

49 *Inferreth arguments of mighty*  
*strength*] See "Interring arguments of  
 mighty force" (above, ii ii 44)

57 *less I should not be*] Kyd has a  
 similar line in *The Spanish Tragedy*,  
 i iv 40 "Yet this I did, and lesse I  
 could not doe I saw him honoured  
 with due funerall"

60 *in mind*] Malone fancied an

*Second Keep.* But if thou be a king, where is thy crown?

*K. Hen* My crown is in my heart, not on my head,  
Not deck'd with diamonds and Indian stones,  
Nor to be seen my crown is call'd content,  
A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy.

65

*Second Keep.* Well, if you be a king crown'd with content,  
Your crown content and y<sup>e</sup>u must be contented  
To go along with us, for, as we think,  
You are the king King Edward hath deposed,  
And we his subjects, sworn in all allegiance,  
Will apprehend you as his enemy.

70

*K Hen* But did you never swear, and break an oath?

*Second Keep.* No, never such an oath, nor will not now

*K Hen* Where did you dwell when I was king of England?

*Second Keep.* Here in this country, where we now remain

75

*K Hen* I was anointed king at nine months old,

My father and my grandfather were kings,

And you were sworn true subjects unto me.

And tell me then, have you not broke your oaths?

*First Keep* No,

80

For we were subjects but while you were king

*K. Hen* Why am I dead? do I not breathe a man?

Ah! simple men, you know not what you swear.

Look! as I blow this feather from my face,

61, 62 *But if . . . my head*] 30, 31 *And if . . . my head* Q. 63, 64.  
Not deck'd . . . be seen] omitted Q. 64-67 *my crown . . . it is that . . .*  
*enjoy . . . Well, if . . . contented*] 32-35 *My crowne . . . that kings doe*  
*seldome times enjoy . . . And if thou . . . content* Q. 68, 69 *To go .*  
*for, as the king . . . deposed*] 36, 37. *To go with us vnto the officer, for*  
*as . . . our quondam king . . . deposde* Q. 70-96. *And we his subjects . . .*  
*King Edward is*] omitted Q.

allusion here to "My mind to me a kingdom is," an old ballad

64. *my crown is call'd content*] Compare Henry's speech on shepherd's content ("methinks it were a happy life") at II. v. 20-54. Elsewhere in Shakespeare, *Henry VIII* II. iii. 20, and *Othello*, III. iii. 172-4 may be recalled. And "crown and content" are denied association in *2 Henry IV*. III. i. 30-31. See Iden's speech in Part II. iv. x. 18 "This small inheritance . . . Contenteth me and worth a monarchy." Compare Kyd's *Cornelia*, IV. i. 246-248 —

"He onely lives most happily

That, free and farre from maiestie,  
Can lue content."

And Lodge, *Wounds of Civil Warre* —

"If there content be such a pleasant thing

Why leave I country life to live a king?"

(Hazlitt's Dodsley, VII. 187).

69. *You are deposed*] This line recalls the famous one in *2 Henry VI*. I. iv. 33 "The duke yet lives that Henry shall depose," minus the ambiguity

76 *anointed king*] See above, I. 17, note. This Biblical expression is again additional to Q.

84-89 *I blow this feather . . . lightness of you common men*] Shakespeare often has this figure "I am a feather for each wind that blows" (*Winter's*

And as the air blows it to me again, 85

Obeying with my wind when I do blow,

And yielding to another when it blows,

Commanded always by the greater gust,

Such is the lightness of you common men

But do not break your oaths, for of that sin 90

My mild entreaty shall not make you guilty

Go where you will, the king shall be commanded,

And be you kings command, and I'll obey

*First Keep* We are true subjects to the king, King Edward

*K. Hen* So would you be again to Henry, 95

If he were seated as King Edward is

*First Keep* We charge you, in God's name, and the king's,

To go with us unto the officers

*K. Hen* In God's name, lead, your king's name be obey'd:

And what God will, that let your king perform, 100

And what he will, I humbly yield unto [*Exeunt.*]

## SCENE II.—*London. The palace.*

*Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, CLARENCE, and  
Lady GREY*

*K. Edw* Brother of Gloucester, at Saint Alban's field

This lady's husband, Sir Richard Grey, was slain,

97, 98 *We charge* go with . . . officers] 38, 39 *And therefore we charge  
you in Gods name & the kings To go along with us unto the officers Q.* 99-101  
*In God's name* yield unto] 40, 41 *Gods name be fulfilled, your kings name  
be Obaide, and be you kings, command and Ile obey. Exeunt Omnes*

## SCENE II

*Enter* ] Ff, *Enter King Edward, Clarence, and Gloster, Montague,  
Hastings, and the Lady Gray Q* 1, 2 *Brother* slain] 1-3  
*Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloucester, This ladies husband heere Sir Richard  
Gray, At the battaile of saint Albones did lose his life Q*

*Tale*, II III. 154) And "Was ever  
feather so lightly blown to and fro as  
this multitude?" (2 *Henry VI* IV  
VIII. 57).

## SCENE II

2. *This lady's husband, Sir Richard  
Grey*] Hall continues (see extract at  
III 1. 30) "But now consider the old  
prouerbe to be true that saith that  
marriage is destine For during ye  
time that the erle of Warwicke was  
thus in Fraunce, concludyng a marriage  
for Kyng Edward, the Kyng being

on hunting in the forest of Wychwood  
besyde stonny stratford, came for his  
recreacion to the mannor of Grafton,  
where the duches of Bedford sojourned,  
then wyfe to Syr Richard Wodvile,  
lord Ryuers, on whom then was attend-  
yng a daughter of hers, called dame  
Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Ihon  
Grey knight, slaine at the last battell  
of sainte Albons. by the power of  
Kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng  
a suite to ye kyng" (continued at  
"too good to be your concubine," I 93,  
below). The death of Ihon Grey,

- His lands then seiz'd on by the conqueror  
 Her suit is now to repossess those lands;  
 Which we in justice cannot well deny,  
 Because in quarrel of the house of York  
 The worthy gentleman did lose his life  
*Glou* Your highness shall do well to grant her suit;  
 It were dishonour to deny in her  
*K Edw* It were no less, but yet I'll make a pause 10  
*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] Yea, is it so?  
 I see the lady hath a thing to grant,  
 Before the king will grant her humble suit.  
*Clar* [*Aside to Glou*] He knows the game how true he  
 keeps the wind!  
*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] Silence! 15  
*K Edw* Widow, we will consider of your suit,  
 And come some other time to know our mind.  
*L. Grey*. Right gracious lord, I cannot brook delay.  
 May it please your highness to resolve me now,  
 And what your pleasure is shall satisfy me 20

3, 4. *His lands . . . lands*] 4, 5. *His lands then were . . . lands* Q. 5-7. *Which we* Because in . . . *The worthy life*] 6-8. *And with in . . . The noble . . . life, In honor we cannot deny her suite* Q. 8, 9. *Your . . . her*] 9. *Your . . . it then* Q (9 omitted) 10. *It but pause*] 10. *I, so I will, but . . . pause* Q. 11-13. *Glou Yea I see a thing suit*] 11-13. *Glo I, is the winde in that doore? Clarence, I see . . . some thing . . . suite* Q. 14, 15. *He knows . . . the wind*! *Glou Silence*! 14. *He knows . . . how well the wind* Q. 16, 17. *Widow And come . . . mind*] 15. *Widow come mind* Q. 18-20. *L. Grey Right . . . satisfy me*] 16, 17. *La May it please your grace I . . . delays, I beseech your highness to dispatch me now* Q.

knighted the same day, at Colney, is in Hall, p. 252. Malone pointed out the falsification of history in the words, "quarrel of the house of York." Grey fell on the side of King Henry, and his lands were seized, not by the conqueror (Queen Margaret) but by Edward after Towton. This is truly stated in *Richard III* 1. 11. "You and your husband Gray were factious for the house of Lancaster," and "In Margaret's battle at Saint Albans slain." Malone may be right, but it is not easy to follow the chronicles. Henry made knights of thirty *foes*, in obedience to Margaret on that occasion. See above, 11. 11. 59. But also the dates are astray.

4. *repossess*] Only in *3 Henry VI*. See note at 111 iii 2-16 below.

11. *Yea, is it so?*] "is the winde in that doore?" (Q) is very properly omitted, being a confusion of metaphors. It is a very old expression, occurring in Heywood's *Proverbs* (ed. Sharman, p. 118), 1546, in Udall's *Erasmus* (Roberts' rept p. 318), 1542, in Gascoigne, *The Supplices*, 1566, etc. And see *1 Henry IV* 111 iii 102.

14. *game wind*] The comparison is to a dog in pursuit of his prey. "Wind" is scent. See *Hamlet*, 111 ii 362. King Edward bore this character. Polydore Vergil says "for as much as the King was a man who would readily cast an eye upon young ladies, and love them inordinately" (Camden Soc. rept., *Three Books*, etc., p. 117).



*Glou* [*Aside to Clar.*] Ay, widow? then I'll warrant you all your lands,

An if what pleases him shall pleasure you

Fight closer, or, good faith, you'll catch a blow.

*Clar* [*Aside to Glou*] I fear her not, unless she chance to fall.

*Glou* [*Aside to Clar.*] God forbid that! for he'll take vantages 25

*K Edw* How many children hast thou, widow? tell me

*Clar* [*Aside to Glou*] I think he means to beg a child of her

*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] Nay, whip me then, he'll rather give her two

*L Grey* Three, my most gracious lord

*Glou.* [*Aside to Clar*] You shall have four, if you'll be ruled by him. 30

*K. Edw* 'Twere pity they should lose their father's lands

*L Grey* Be pitiful, dread lord, and grant it then

*K Edw* Lords, give us leave, I'll try this widow's wit

*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] Ay, good leave have you, for you will have leave,

Till youth take leave and leave you to the crutch 35

[*Glou and Clar retire*]

21-23 *Ay, widow?* . . . *blow*] 33-36 *Nase then widow Ile warrant you all your Husbands lands, if you grant to do what he Commands. Fight close or in good faith, You catch a clap* Q. . . 24, 25 *I fear . . . she . . . fall . . . for . . . vantages*] 37, 38 *Nase I feare she fall Glo. Marie godsforbot man, for . . . vantage then* Q . . . 26-30 *How many . . . of her . . . you'll be ruled by him*] 22-26 *Come hither widdow, how many children haste thou? . . . on her . . . and you wil be rulse by him* Q . . . 31, 32 *'Twere pity . . . dread . . . it then* 27, 28. *Were it not fitrie . . . then dread . . . it them* Q 33-35 *Lords . . . I'll try Glou Ay the crutch*] 18-21 *Lords wee meane to trie Cla I, good you Glou For you . . . your crutch* Q

23 *Fight closer*] Must be taken devoid of the literal sense of "close," i.e., near Fight, or resist better Compare "close fighting" (in serious conflict) (*Romeo and Juliet*, I i 118).

23 *catch a blow*] come to disgrace "Catch a clap" (Q) came to be used expressly of women being "in trouble" Hawes has it in a proper context —

"My heart was in a trap

By Venus caught, and wyth so sore a clap"

(*Pastime of Pleasure*, rept. p 64, 1500).

Nashe has it more generally —

"Martin, your mast(er) alas hath caught a clap,

And is . . . like to fall"

(*Martins Months Minde*, Grosart, 1 197). Peele gives an example of the vulgar use (meant here) in *Sir Clyomon*

(516, a) "But I may say to you, my neighbour Hodge's maid had a clap,—well, let them laugh that win!"

25 *God forbid*] The old "Godsforbot" (Q) does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare. It was formerly very common, and is found in Golding's Ovid (iii 891) It is used by Nashe (*Have with you*, etc.), and by Nicholas Breton (several times) in Shakespeare's time Generally with the sense of something wholly anathema—beyond God's forbod.

28 *whip me then*] Compare *Othello*, I i 49 and V ii 277. And *Pericles*, IV ii 91 When the whip was in its glory it gave rise to several expressions now forgotten

33-35 *give us leave good leave . . . take leave and leave you*] There

- K. Edw.* Now tell me, madam, do you love your children?  
*L. Grey.* Ay, full as dearly as I love myself  
*K. Edw.* And would you not do much to do them good?  
*L. Grey.* To do them good I would sustain some harm  
*K. Edw.* Then get your husband's lands, to do them good 40  
*L. Grey.* Therefore I came unto your majesty.  
*K. Edw.* I 'll tell you how these lands are to be got  
*L. Grey.* So shall you bind me to your highness' service.  
*K. Edw.* What service wilt thou do me, if I give them?  
*L. Grey.* What you command, that rests in me to do 45  
*K. Edw.* But you will take exceptions to my boon.  
*L. Grey.* No, gracious lord, except I cannot do it  
*K. Edw.* Ay, but thou canst do what I mean to ask.  
*L. Grey.* Why, then I will do what your grace commands  
*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] He plies her hard and much rain  
wears the marble 50  
*Clar* [*Aside to Glou*] As red as fire! nay, then her wax must  
melt  
*L. Grey.* Why stops my lord? shall I not hear my task?  
*K. Edw.* An easy task, 'tis but to love a king.  
*L. Grey.* That's soon perform'd, because I am a subject  
*K. Edw.* Why then, thy husband's lands I freely give thee 55  
*L. Grey.* I take my leave with many thousand thanks

36-41. *Now tell me your majesty*] omitted Q 42-45 *I'll tell you  
... give them? ... to do*] 29-32 *I'll tell thee . grant it them?* *La  
Euen what your highnesse shall command Q* 46-51 *But you will . wax  
must melt*] omitted Q 52-57. *Why stops my lord . a curtsey*] 39-44 *Why  
stops my lord . . . Know my taske?* *cursie Q*

is a passage in *The Spanish Tragedy*  
very strongly resembling this. It is  
broken in two by the arrival of Jonson's  
additions —

"By your leave, Sir

*Hier* Good leave have you nay,  
I pray you goe,  
For ile leave you if you can leave  
me so" (III xi 1-3).

36-59.] These lines are another ex-  
ample of the method of alternate dia-  
logue in lines (συναμυθία) already  
noted upon in *1 Henry VI* iv v 35-42,  
a practice in the classic drama Kyd's  
*Cornelia* is largely framed on this plan,  
which is frequent in Shakespeare's  
early work

46. *take exceptions*] disapprove. See  
*1 Henry VI* iv. 1 105 (note), and *Two  
Gentlemen of Verona*, I. iii. 81

50. *He plies her hard*] urges her

hard. See *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii.  
279. And see note at "well said"  
(*2 Henry VI*. I iv 13) for an example  
from Peele

50. *much rain wears the marble*] See  
above, II. 1 54, 55 (note). Compare T  
Howell, *Devises* (Grosart, II 217),  
1581. "The Marble stone in time by  
waterie drops is pierced deepe" And  
T. Watson, *Passionate Centurie*, xlv  
(Arber, p 83), 1582. "In time the  
Marble weares with weakest sheures"  
Kyd, when he appropriated Watson's  
lines in *The Spanish Tragedy* (Hazlitt's  
Dodsley, v 36) turned marble to flint.  
The old form is "Constant dropping  
wears a stone." Gloucester's proverb-  
loving speech is displayed here. See  
Introduction, and below, III. ii. 113,  
iv vii 25, etc.

*Glou* [*Aside to Clar.*] The match is made; she seals it with  
a curtsey

*K. Edw* But stay thee; 'tis the fruits of love I mean.

*L. Grey.* The fruits of love I mean, my loving liege

*K. Edw* Ay, but, I fear me, in another sense 60

What love think'st thou I sue so much to get?

*L. Grey* My love till death, n<sup>y</sup> humble thanks, my prayers

That love which virtue begs and virtue grants

*K. Edw* No, by my troth, I did not mean such love

*L. Grey* Why, then you mean not as I thought you did 65

*K. Edw* But now you partly may perceive my mind

*L. Grey* My mind will never grant what I perceive

Your highness aims at, if I am aight

*K. Edw.* To tell thee plain, I aim to lie with thee

*L. Grey* To tell you plain, I had rather lie in prison 70

*K. Edw* Why, then thou shalt not have thy husband's  
lands

*L. Grey* Why, then mine honesty shall be my dower,

For by that loss I will not purchase them

*K. Edw* Therein thou wrong'st thy children mightily

*L. Grey* Herein your highness wrongs both them and me 75

But, mighty lord, this merry inclination

Accords not with the sadness of my suit

Please you dismiss me, either with ay or no.

*K. Edw* Ay, if thou wilt say ay to my request,

No, if thou dost say no to my demand 80

*L. Grey.* Then, no, my lord My suit is at an end.

*Glou.* [*Aside to Clar.*] The widow likes him not, she knits  
her brows

58-60 But stay sense] omitted Q 61-63 What love virtue  
grants] 45-47 Stare widow stare, what love dost thou thinke . . get? La.  
My humble service, such as subjects owes and the lawes commands Q 64-69  
No . . with thee] 48, 49 K Ed No I meant no such love, But to tell  
thee troth, I . . with thee Q (65 to 68 omitted) 71-78 Why, . . shalt not  
have . . Why, then . . Therein . . Accords not Please you . . ay  
or no] 50-58. Why canst not get . . Then Herein . . Agrees not  
. . Please it your highnes to I or no Q 79-82 Ay wilt say  
dost say . . knits her brows] 59-62. I . . saie I . . saie . . bends the  
brow Q

58 I mean] See below, iv v 51, and  
see Part I. v v 20

59. The fruits of love] See Kyd's  
*Spanish Tragedy* "Lorenzo I thus,  
and thus these are the fruits of love.  
(They stab him)" (ii. iv 55) And in  
Part II. of Whetstone's *Promos and  
Cassandra* (ii. ii) .—

"Come, we agree to let you prove  
Without a fee, the fruites of love"  
(1578)

66 perceive my mind] grasp my  
meaning. See note at *1 Henry VI* ii  
ii. 59.

82 knits her brows] See note at "he  
knit his angry brows" (ii. ii. 20, above)

*Clar.* [*Aside to Glou.*] He is the bluntest wooer in Christendom

*K. Edw.* [*Aside.*] Her looks do argue her replete with modesty ;

Her words do show her wit incomparable , 85

All her perfections challenge sovereignty

One way or other, she is for a king ,

And she shall be my love, or else my queen —

Say that King Edward take thee for his queen ?

*L. Grey* 'Tis better said than done, my gracious lord . 90

I am a subject fit to jest withal,

But far unfit to be a sovereign

*K. Edw.* Sweet widow, by my state I swear to thee

I speak no more than what my soul intends ,

And that is, to enjoy thee for my love 95

*L. Grey* And that is more than I will yield unto.

I know I am too mean to be your queen,

And yet too good to be your concubine

83, 84 *He is . . . modesty*] 63, 64 *Why he is . . . lookes are all repleat with maiestie* Q 85, 86 *Her words sovereignty*] omitted Q 87-99.  
*One way . . . take thee . . . swear . . . I speak . . . soul . . . mean . . . my queen*] 65-77 *One waise . . . tooke thee . . . sweare I speake . . . bad . . . my Queene* Q

Q has here "she bends the brow" with the same meaning, frowns See below, v 11 22 "when Warwick bent his brow" And *1 Henry VI* v 11. 34. Also in *Lucrece*, 709, and *King John*

83 *the bluntest wooer in Christendom*] A standard expression See note at "the lyingest knave in Christendom" in *2 Henry VI* 11 1 126 A very old set phrase Kyd (?) has "the braginst knave in Christendom" in *Soliman and Perseda* And in Hall's Chronicle (p 267), "the metest matrimony in Christendome" occurs And Holinshed's *England*, 111 292 (rept) "The greatest prince in Christendom" Shakespeare drew it from the chroniclers

84 *replete with*] See note "replete with wrathful fire" (*1 Henry VI* 1. 1. 12) "Majesty" to "modesty" is a very suitable alteration When the two texts are practically identical, as in this dialogue and its asides, the alterations are very instructive Slight touches of improvement by the author or a reperusal for a fresh performance, or some other reason — such as to expunge Greenenes! The line here in Q occurs

again below at iv vi. 71 (Q). Hence the alteration here

90 *better said than done*] where we say "easier said than done" Oliphant (New English) gives a reference to *Religious and Love Poems* (Early English Text Soc), circa 1450 "*better saide thanne doon*" I have not verified it.

98 *too good to be your concubine*] Hall continues (see above at "Sir Richard Gray," 1 2) "This wydow . . . founde such grace in the Kynges eyes, that he not only fauoured her suyte, but muche more phantastied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenance then of excellent beautie, but yet of such beautie and fauor, that with her sober demeanure, lovely loking, and femynyne smylyng (neither to wanton nor to humble) besyde her tongue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to raush the mynde of a meane person, when she allured and made subject to her, ye hart of so great a Kyng After that Kyng Eduard had well considered all the lineamentes . . . he determined . .

*K. Edw* You cavi, widow I did mean, my queen.

*L. Grey* 'Twill grieve your grace my sons should call you  
father 100

*K. Edw* No more than when my daughters call thee mother.

Thou art a widow, and thou hast some children;

And, by God's mother, I, being but a bachelor,

Have other some why, 'tis a happy thing

To be the father unto many sons 105

Answer no more, for thou shalt be my queen

*Glou* [*Aside to Clar*] The ghostly father now hath done his  
shrifft

*Clar* [*Aside to Glou*] When he was made a shriver, 'twas for  
shift.

*K. Edw* Brothers, you muse what chat we two have had

*Glou*. The widow likes it not, for she looks very sad 110

*K. Edw* You'd think it strange if I should marry her

*Clar* To whom, my lord?

*K. Edw* Why, Clarence, to myself

100-106 'Twill my sons fa'her unto Answer queen] 78-  
84 Your grace would be loath my sonnes father of mine children Argue  
. . . *Queene Q* 107-109 The ghostly . what chat had] 85-88½ The  
ghostly what talke the Widdow And I have haa Q 110 The . very  
sad] omitted Q 111-114 You'd . . marry her Clar To whom . . That's  
a . . . lasts] 88½-93 you would . . marrie her Cla Marrie her my Lord,  
to whom? . Why that's . lasts Q

that yf she would therunto condescend, she might so fortune of his peramour and concubine to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfellow, whiche demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speache answered and repugned, affirmynge that as she was for his honor farre vnable to be hys spouse and bedfellow so for her awne poore honestie, she was too good to be either hys concubine, or soueraigne lady that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was now set all on a hote burnyng fire . . & without any further deliberacion, he determyned with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that askyng counsaill of them, whiche he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose But the duches of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay And so, priuilye in a mornyng he married her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage" (p 264) Later in Hall (365) the story of this courtship is again told, and how "she made suyte to be restored to suche smal landes as

her husband had geuen her in ioyniture

And finally after many a metyng and much avowyng . . the Kyng . . so muche esteemed her constancy and chastitye, that . . he determined in haste to marry her " For the historical falseness, see note above at l 3

104 other sonne] another lot or set See again *Measure for Measure*, III ii 94, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I i 226 It occurs twice at least in Golding's Ovid (books iv. and viii.) Not uncommon in early poetry

106 my queen] Johnson says of this dialogue, closing here, that it is "very lively and spritely, the reciprocation is quicker than is common in Shakespeare."

107. ghostly father] Occurs again in *Measure for Measure* and *Romeo and Juliet* "I'll have no ghostly fathers out of France" (Peele, *Edward I.* (410, a))

107, 108 shrifft shrivur] Compare this passage with *1 Henry VI.* I ii 119.

*Glou* That would be ten days' wonder at the least.

*Clar* That's a day longer than a wonder lasts

*Glou* By so much is the wonder in extremes

115

*K Edw* Well, jest on, brothers · I can tell you both

Her suit is granted for her husband's lands.

*Enter a Nobleman*

*Nob* My gracious lord, Henry your foe is taken,  
And brought your prisoner to your palace gate

*K Edw* See that he be convey'd unto the Tower :

120

And go we, brothers, to the man that took him,

To question of his apprehension

Widow, go you along    Lords, use her honourably.

[*Exeunt all but Gloucester.*]

*Glou* Ay, Edward will use women honourably

Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all,

125

That from his loins no hopeful branch may spring,

To cross me from the golden time I look for!

115. By . . extremes] 94 And so much more are the wonderes in extre . . s Q  
116, 117 Well . . you both . . lands] 95, 96 Well . . you . . lands Q.  
118, 119 Enter a Nobleman Nob My . . Henry . . your prisoner . .  
gate] 97, 98 Enter a Messenger Mes And it please your grace, Henry . . as  
prisoner . . gates Q 120-123 See that . . . honourably] 99-102 Awake  
with him and send him to the Tower, And let us go question with the man about  
His apprehension. Lords along, and vse this Ladie honourable Exeunt Omnes.  
Manet Gloster and speakes Q. 124-127 Ay, Edward . . no hopeful . .  
cross me . . look for] 103-106 I, Edward no issue might succeed To  
hinder me . . looke for Q

113, 114 ten days' wonder] A  
wonder lasts nine days Occurs again  
in *As You Like It*, III. ii 185, and  
2 *Henry VI* II iv. 69 (see note) See  
note at line 60 above.

118-120 Henry taken . Tower]  
See above, III i. 13 (note)

122 apprehension] seizure, arrest  
Again in *King Lear*, III. v 20.

124-125 Ay, Edward . . I'll pluck  
it down] Compare with II. v 1-72 Here  
we have another great soliloquy, but it  
is full of import with regard to the  
subsequent history, and of character  
display in him that speaks it When  
Henry VI made his oration we knew  
all about him amply already, but not so  
here They are meant to be set in con-  
trast, these two speeches It is very  
important to compare this with Q  
The version here is more than double of  
that in Q, but every line in the latter is  
used up in the present composition.

Amplification, addition and improve-  
ment take place, but only in such a way  
as an author would deal with his own  
work—which he approved of and im-  
proved The two kings' characters,  
Henry VI and Richard III, as Shake-  
speare conceived them, are sketched and  
contrasted in these two speeches

126 loins . . branch] "issue" of  
Q is preferable, and occurs in *Richard*  
III. I iii 232 and in *Cymbeline*, v. v.  
330

127. golden time] Again in *Twelfth*  
*Night*, v 1 391 "Golden day" occurs  
in *1 Henry VI*. I. vi 31, and below, III  
iii 7 Peele has "My golden days,  
my younger careless years" (*Battle*  
*of Alcazar*, Act v (439, a)), and he  
has

"that golden time .  
The blooming time, the spring of  
England's peace"  
(*Polyhymnia*, 572, b).

And yet, between my soul's desire and me—  
 The lustful Edward's title buried—  
 Is Clarence, Henry, and his son young Edward, 130  
 And all the unlook'd for issue of their bodies,  
 To take their rooms, ere I can place myself—  
 A cold premeditation for my purpose!  
 Why then, I do but dreañ on sovereignty,  
 Like one that stands upon a promontory, 135  
 And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,  
 Wishing his foot were equal with his eye,  
 And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,  
 Saying, he'll lade it dry to have his way  
 So do I wish the crown, being so far off, 140  
 And so I chide the means that keeps me from it,  
 And so I say, I'll cut the causes off,  
 Flattering me with impossibilities  
 My eye's too quick, my heart o'erweens too much,  
 Unless my hand and strength could equal them 145  
 Well, say there is no kingdom then for Richard;  
 What other pleasure can the world afford?  
 I'll make my heaven in a lady's lap,  
 And deck my body in gay ornaments,  
 And witch sweet ladies with my words and looks 150

128-132 *And yet . . . their rooms*] 107-110 *For I am not yet lookt for in the world. First is there Edward, Clarence and Henry And his sonne, and all they lookt for issue Of their lounes* Q 132, 133. *ere I can place . . . purpose* 1] 110, 111. *ere I can plant . . . purpose* Q 134-146 *Why then, I do but dream . . . for Richard*] omitted Q 147-150 *What other . . . I'll make . . . And deck . . . And witch . . . looks*] 112-115 *What other pleasure is there in the world beside? I will go clad my . . . And lull my selfe within a . . . And witch . . . looks* Q (2 lines transposed)

133. *A cold premeditation*] "Cold" has the sense of hopelessness, comfortless, as in "coldest expectation" (2 *Henry IV.* v ii 31) and "where hope is coldest" (*All's Well that Ends Well*, ii i 147) Properly set tort in Schmidt "Cold comfort" and "cold news" differ very slightly in their sense of "cold," and are both frequent. Compare Peele, *A Tale of Troy* (556, a) —

"The Troyans' glory now gan waxen dim,  
 And cold their hope"  
 Compare "Henry, my lords, is cold in great affairs" (2 *Henry VI.* iii i 224).

139. *lade*] drain, empty of water Compare Peele, *David and Bethsabe*

(475, a) "Weep Israel, for David's soul dissolves, *Lading* the fountains of his drowned eyes" In use still provincially. Not again in Shakespeare. To load or carry out water with buckets, etc (or ladle) "Load" and "lade" are doublets

148. *in a lady's lap*] Compare *Silvius* (Greene and Peele) —

"For he that never saw a foe man's face,  
 But alwaies slept upon a *Ladies lap*,  
 Will scant endure to lead a souldiers life"

(Grosart, iv 227) "Entombed in *ladies lap*" occurs in Spenser (reference mislaid).

O miserable thought<sup>1</sup> and more unlikely  
 Than to accomplish twenty golden crowns.  
 Why, love forswore me in my mother's womb  
 And, for I should not deal in her soft laws,  
 She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe, 155  
 To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub,  
 To make an envious mountain on my back,  
 Where sits deformity to mock my body,  
 To shape my legs of an unequal size,  
 To disproportion me in every part, 160  
 Like to a chaos, or an unlick'd bear-whelp  
 That carries no impression like the dam  
 And am I then a man to be below'd?  
 O monstrous fault<sup>1</sup> to harbour such a thought  
 Then, since this earth affords no joy to me 165  
 But to command, to check, to o'erbear such  
 As are of better person than myself,

151, 152 O miserable crowns] 125 Easier for me to compass twenty  
 crowns Q 153-159 Why forswore me . . . soft laws . . . with some  
 bribe, To shrink mine . . . shrub, To make an . . . my body, To shape . . .  
 size] 117-123 Why . . . did scorne me . . . affaires . . . in the flesh And plaste  
 an . . . my backe, Where . . . my bodie, To drie mine . . . shrimpe. To make  
 . . . size Q (two lines transposed) 160-162 To disproportion . . . the dam]  
 omitted Q 163, 164 And am . . . thought] 116 and 124 Oh monstrous man  
 . . . thought, And am . . . below'd? Q. 165-181 Then, since this earth . . .  
 bloody axe] omitted Q

153. love forswore me in my mother's  
 womb] Malone found this line in *Wily  
 Beguiled*, a play printed in Hazlitt's  
 Dodsley from the earliest known edition  
 of 1606. But Malone says it had been  
 exhibited on the stage soon after 1590.  
 A most unworthy implication over a  
 trifling line. This play "of 1590"  
 contains a whole passage from *The  
 Merchant of Venice*, and was of course  
 rewritten after that play. It is an  
 empty little piece

156 To shrink mine arm . . .  
 wither'd] According to Grafton this  
 was witchcraft in the views of Gloucester  
 "Then sayde the protectoure,  
 ' . . . as Shores wyfe wyth her affynitee  
 haue by theyr sorcerye and wychcrafte  
 thys wasted my bodye,' and therewyht  
 plucked up hys doublet cleane to hys  
 elbowe on hys lyfte arme, where he  
 showed a werys he wythered arme, and  
 small as it was neuer other" (*Continuation  
 of Hardyng*, 494). Shakespeare  
 very properly rejected this fable, using  
 the descriptive word only.

156. shrub] "shrimp" in Q may  
 safely be regarded as another quaint  
 misprint (from an evil manuscript  
 probably).

161. chaos] Compare "Misshapen  
 chaos" (*Romeo and Juliet*, i. i. 185).  
 And Golding's Ovid —

"all the worlde . . .

Which chaos hight, a huge rude  
 heape"

161 unlick'd bear-whelp] An old be-  
 lief. See Pliny (Holland's trans.  
 1601), x. 63 "she Beares . . . whose  
 whelpes are more misshapen than the  
 rest . . . when they are delivered of  
 them, with their licking . . . by little  
 and little bring them to some forme  
 and fashion" And again, Book viii  
 ch. 36 See also Golding's Ovid's  
*Metamorphoses*, xv. 416-419 "The  
 Bearwhelp also which The Beare hath  
 newly littred . . . like an euill favored  
 lump of flesh<sup>2</sup> alyue dooth lye. The  
 dam by licking shapeth out his mem-  
 bers orderly."



I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown ;  
 And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,  
 Until my mis-shaped trunk that bears this head 170  
 Be round impaled with a glorious crown.  
 And yet I know not how to get the crown,  
 For many lives stand between me and home  
 And I, like one lost in a thorny wood,  
 That rents the thorns and is rent with the thorns, 175  
 Seeking a way and straying from the way .  
 Not knowing how to find the open air,  
 But toiling desperately to find it out,  
 Torment myself to catch the English crown  
 And from that torment I will free myself, 180  
 Or hew my way out with a bloody axe  
 Why, I can smile, and murder whiles I smile,  
 And cry "Content" to that which grieves my heart,  
 And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,  
 And frame my face to all occasions 185  
 I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall,  
 I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk ,  
 I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,  
 Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could,  
 And, like a Sinon, take another Troy. 190  
 I can add colours to the chameleon,  
 Change shapes with Proteus for advantages,

182, 183. *Why . . . whiles . . . And cry . . . my heart*] 126, 127 *Tut* .  
*when . . . I cry . . . me most* Q 184-190 *And wet . . . another Troy*]  
 omitted Q. 191-195. *I can . . . Change . . . for advantages* *And set*

170 *mis-shaped*] Not again in Shakespeare. Several times in *Faerie Queene*, Book i. (viii 16, viii 46) ("misshaped parts").

170, 171 *this head . . . impaled*] See note at "pale your head" (i iv 103 above) Compare Peele, *Edward I* Sc xxiv 410, b —

"And see aloft Lluellen's head,  
 Empaled with a crown of lead"

175 *rents*] *rends*. See again *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. ii. 215, *Lover's Complaint*, 55, *Titus Andronicus*, iii 1 261, and in *Richard III*. Compare "girt," Part I iii 1 171, and Part II i i 63 (and notes). Peele has "My heart doth *rent* to thank" (*Edward I*. Sc. xxv 412, a) Very often in Greene. And elsewhere in Peele, and in *Lochnie* and Marlowe

184 *artificial*] feigned, false

187 *basilisk*] Has occurred twice already in 2 *Henry VI* iii ii. 52 and iii ii 324 And note at the first passage Also in *Richard III*, *Cymbeline* and *Henry V* Phny tells this (viii 21) "A wild beast called Catoblepes there is not one that looketh upon his eyes, but hee dyeth presently The like propertie hath the serpent called a *Basiliske*"

188 *play the orator*] See above, i ii 2, ii ii 43 and note

190 *Sinon*] Again in *Titus Andronicus* and *Cymbeline*

191 *chameleon*] Twice in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. See Holland's *Plinie* (1601), xxviii. viii. p 315

192 *Proteus*] Not again in Shakespeare. See Golding's *Ovid*, viii 916-

And set the murderous Machiavel to school.  
 Can I do this, and cannot get a crown?  
 Tut! were it further off, I'll pluck it down

195  
 [Exit.]

SCENE III.—*France The King's palace*

*Flourish. Enter LEWIS the French King, his sister BONA, his Admiral, called BOURBON, Prince EDWARD, Queen MARGARET, and the Earl of OXFORD LEWIS sits, and riseth up again*

*K. Lew* Fair Queen of England, worthy Margaret,

*Tut . . . down] I can . . . And for a need change . . . Protheus, And set the aspiring Catalin . . . the crowne? Tush, were it ten times higher, Ile pull it doune. Exit Q*

SCENE III.

*Flourish Enter ] Ff, Enter King Lewis and the Ladie Bona, and Queene Margaret, Prince Edward, and Oxford and others Q. 1-3 Fair Queen doth sit] 1-6 Welcome Queene Margaret to the Court of France, It fits not Lewis*

922 And Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. ii. 10, iii. viii 30, 40, 41. Marlowe has "Proteus, god of shapes" (*Edward II.* 193, a)

193. *murderous Machiavel*] Again in *1 Henry VI* v. iv 74. "Alençon that notorious Machiavel," and in *Merry Wives of Windsor* "Am I politic, am I subtle, am I a Machiavel?" (iii. 1 104) Nashe uses similar language in *Summer's Last Will* (Grosart, vi. 146) "The arte of murther Machiavel hath pend" He couples him with Aretine two or three times. He uses this language "As though the Church of England were vpheld and Atlassed by corruption, Machauehisme, apostatisme, hipocrisie and treacherie" (*Have with you*, etc (Grosart, iii. 205)). And worse in other places in Nashe In Marlowe he is introduced as the prologue speaker in *Jew of Malta*, advocating poisoning, and counting "religion but a childish toy" Greene in *Mamilia* (Grosart, ii. 205) gives him the rankest vituperation earlier Nicholas Breton seems to have been very familiar with "The Prince" In *Wit's Trenchmoure* he gives a good deal of his policy These writers, except the last perhaps, and also Harvey who speaks of him before 1580 (Grosart's Harvey, i. 138), omit to mention to the credit of the "great statesman" that

if he did hold religion as a toy, it was because he set patriotism before it Machiavel died in 1527. His greatest work, *Il Principe*, appeared in 1513. See note at *1 Henry VI.* v. iv 74. The anachronism is saved in the Quarto's reading, Cataline. For "Cataline" compare *Edward II* (Marlowe, Dyce, p. 210, a).

SCENE III.

1. Hall continues from the passage quoted at the end of ii. v. 1 125, "Fly, father, fly" "When Kyng Henry was somewhat settled in the realme of Scotland [whose King he bribed with the town of Berwick], he sente his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to Kyng Rene her father, trusting by his ayde . . . to assemble a greate army (257). . . . She remained with Duke Reyner her father, till she toke her unfortunate iorney into England again (261). . . . (Edward's marriage takes place) . . . When this mariage was once blowen abroad, forren kyngs. and prynces maruayld . . . noble men detested . . . common people grudged. . . . The French Kyng and his Quene were not a little discontent to haue their sister . . . apparently mocked. . . . But when the erle of Warwycke had perfit knowledge by the letters of trusty friends, that Kyng Edward had gotten

Sit down with us it ill befits thy state

And birth that thou should'st stand while Lewis doth sit

*Q. Mar* No, mighty King of France, now Margaret

Must strike her sail, and learn awhile to serve 5

Where kings command I was, I must confess,

Great Albion's queen in former golden days ;

But now mischance hath trod my title down,

And with dishonour laid me on the ground,

Where I must take like seat unto my fortune, 10

And to my humble seat comfort myself.

*K. Lew* Why, say, fair queen, whence springs this deep  
despair?

*Q. Mar* From such a cause as fills mine eyes with tears

And stops my tongue, while heart is drown'd in cares.

*K. Lew* Whate'er it be, be thou still like thyself, 15

And sit thee by our side [*seats her by him*] yield not  
thy neck

To fortune's yoke, but let thy dauntless mind

Still ride in triumph over all mischance

Be plain, Queen Margaret, and tell thy grief,

It shall be eas'd, if France can yield relief 20

*Q. Mar* Those gracious words revive my drooping thoughts,  
And give my tongue-tied sorrows leave to speak.

*to sit while thou dost stand. Sit by my side, and here I vow to thee, Thou shalt have aide to repossesse thy right, And beat proud Edward from usurped seat And place King Henry in his former rule* Q (compare line 20). 4-20 *Q. Mar* No . . . relief] omitted Q 21, 22 *Those speak*] 7-9 *I humble thanke your royale maiestie. And pray the God of heaven to blesse thy state, Great King of France, that thus regards our wrongs* Q.

hym a new wyfe, & that all he had done . . . in his ambassade . . . was both frustrate and vayn, he was . . . sore chafed and thought it necessarye that King Edward should be deposed from his croune" (265) The dramatic scene here between Margaret, Lewis, Warwick, Oxford is imaginary But Margaret "did obteyn and impestrate of the yong Frenche Kynge [Lewis] that all fautors and louers of her husbande and the Lancastreall bande, might . . . haue resorte into any parte of Fraunce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faction" (257)

2-16 *Sit down* . . . *sit thee*] There is only one bidding to sit down in Q, after which Lewis utters three prepos-  
terously bad and ill-timed lines wholly

omitted here "Beat proud Edward from usurped seat" is in the regular diction of Greene and Peele on such occasions "Repossess" here (Q) occurs above, III ii 4, and three times later in this play, but not again in Shakespeare.

5 *strike her sail*] humble herself. See 2 *Henry IV* v ii 18 See below, v. 1. 52 (note)

7 *golden days*] See note at "golden time," above, III ii 127

17. *dauntless mind*] refers, not to her present condition, but to Margaret's famous character

22. *give* . . . *leave to speak*] See note at I ii 1 above.

22 *tongue-tied*] See 1 *Henry VI* II. iv. 25, and note.

Now, therefore, be it known to noble Lewis,  
 That Henry, sole possessor of my love,  
 Is of a king become a banish'd man, 25  
 And forced to live in Scotland a forlorn,  
 While proud ambitious Edward Duke of York  
 Usurps the regal title and the seat  
 Of England's true-anointed lawful king.  
 This is the cause that I, poor Margaret, 30  
 With this my son, Prince Edward, Henry's heir,  
 Am come to crave thy just and lawful aid,  
 And if thou fail us, all our hope is done  
 Scotland hath will to help, but cannot help,  
 Our people and our peers are both misled, 35  
 Our treasure seiz'd, our soldiers put to flight,  
 And, as thou seest, ourselves in heavy plight  
*K Lew* Renowned queen with patience calm the storm,  
 While we bethink a means to break it off.  
*Q. Mar* The more we stay, the stronger grows our foe 40  
*K Lew* The more I stay, the more I'll succour thee  
*Q. Mar* O! but impatience waiteth on true sorrow:  
 And see where comes the breeder of my sorrow

*Enter WARWICK*

*K. Lew* What's he approacheth boldly to our presence?  
*Q. Mar* Our Earl of Warwick, Edward's greatest friend 45  
*K. Lew* Welcome, brave Warwick! What brings thee to  
 France? [*He descends. She ariseth.*]

23-43 *Now, therefore . . . the breeder of my sorrow*] omitted *Q* 44-46.  
*Enter . . . K Lew What's he . . . presence? . . . Our Earl . . . France?*  
 10-12 *Enter Lew How now, who is this? . . . Our Earle . . . chiefest*  
*friend . . . France?* *Q* [*He . . .*] *Ff*, omitted *Q*.

26 *a forlorn*] *New Eng. Dict* has one early example of this word, as a noun, from Dunbar. Several such Scotticisms appear in these plays.

27 *proud ambitious*] See below, v. v 17

29 *true-anointed*] For "anointed king" see III. i 17 and 76. Shakespeare has about fifteen such compounds, true- preceding a participle. Whether they are hyphenated or not appears to be a toss-up. They belong chiefly to his early work. Peele's "true-succeeding" is not in Shakespeare. See Part II., Introduction, on *Jack Straw*.

38, 39. *storm . . . break it off*] turn

it aside, an unhappy expression, as if the storm was to be cut short, like a conversation, by human means, especially as the Queen is about to calm it. Compare "break off the parley" above, II. ii 110. There is very poor writing in this scene. It is quite insipid, such as Kyd could have written, but although unworthy of Shakespeare it does not recall any other writer to me.  
 43. *Enter Warwick*] Ritson enumerates four considerable reasons for Warwick's displeasure with the King, all wholly independent of this "fabulous story of Warwick and the lady Bona" as told by "our common histories" (Steevens' Shakespeare, 1793).

- Q Mar.* Ay, now begins a second storm to rise,  
For this is he that moves both wind and tide.
- War.* From worthy Edward, King of Albion,  
My lord and sovereign, and thy vowed friend, 50  
I come, in kindness and unfeigned love,  
First to do greetings to thy royal person,  
And then to crave a league of amity,  
And lastly to confirm that amity  
With nuptial knot, if thou vouchsafe to grant 55  
That virtuous Lady Bona, thy fair sister,  
To England's king in lawful marriage.
- Q Mar.* [*Aside.*] If that go forward, Henry's hope is done.
- War.* [*To Bona.*] And, gracious madam, in our king's behalf,  
I am commanded, with your leave and favour, 60  
Humbly to kiss your hand, and with my tongue  
To tell the passion of my sovereign's heart;  
Where fame, late entering at his heedful ears,  
Hath plac'd thy beauty's image and thy virtue.
- Q Mar.* King Lewis and Lady Bona, hear me speak, 65  
Before you answer Warwick. His demand  
Springs not from Edward's well-meant honest love,

47, 48. *Ay, now . . . tide*] omitted Q. 49-57. *From worthy . . . Albion*  
*. . . lawful marriage*] 13-21 *From worthy . . . England* *Lawfull marriage*  
*Q.* 58 *If that . . . Henry's . . . done*] 22 *And if this . . . all our . . .*  
*done Q.* 59-64. *And your leave . . . passion . . . beauty's . . . virtue*] 23-28  
*And . . . your love . . . passions . . . glorious virtues Q.* 65,  
 66 *King Lewis . . . Warwick*] 29-31 *King Lewes . . . Warwike or his words,*  
*For hee it is hath done vs all these wrongs Q.* 66-77. *His demand . . . sup-*  
*presseeth wrongs*] omitted Q.

58 *go forward*] take place, come to pass. Occurs again in *As You Like It*, I. ii 193, *Coriolanus*, iv v 228 and elsewhere. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II. iii. 18 —

"And this it is in case the match  
*goe forward*  
 The tribute which you pay shall be  
 releast"

58 *If that . . . Henry's hope is done*] Compare line 33 above. "And if thou fail us, all our hope is done." To be regarded as an omission on Shakespeare's part, in avoiding a repetition, when developing and extending Margaret's speeches as he does, almost invariably. "Hope is done" does not sound Shakespearian somehow, but I should not like to accept this passage as evidence that the old play is not Shakespeare's. With the exception of

this line, Malone says, the former speech is by Shakespeare. He liked this line when he met it here, and having borrowed it there, he forgot to scratch it out here. Malone found himself in some very tight corners in pursuit of his theory

60 *leave*] Surely a correction of a misprint (love) in Q.

64. *beauty's image*] Improves "glorious image" sensibly. Margaret's following speech, excepting the first few words, is additional. There is some power in it. The use of "danger" is Shakespearian. "Well-meant" is paralleled by "well-meaning" (*Richard II.* II. i. 128). But there is no doubt at all of Shakespeare immediately below

65 *Lady Bona*] See III. i. 30, 31, and extract from Hall.

But from deceit bred by necessity ,  
 For how can tyrants safely govern home,  
 Unless abroad they purchase great alliance ? 70  
 To prove him tyrant this reason may suffice,  
 That Henry liveth still , but were he dead,  
 Yet here Prince Edward stands, King Henry's son.  
 Look, therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage  
 Thou draw not on thy danger and dishonour , 75  
 For though usurpers sway the rule awhile,  
 Yet heavens are just, and time suppresseth wrongs

War Injurious Margaret !

Prince. And why not queen ?

War Because thy father Henry did usurp,  
 And thou no more art prince than she is queen. 80

Oxf. Then Warwick disannuls great John of Gaunt,  
 Which did subdue the greatest part of Spain ,  
 And, after John of Gaunt, Henry the Fourth,  
 Whose wisdom was a mirror to the wisest ,  
 And after that wise prince, Henry the Fifth, 85  
 Who by his prowess conquered all France :  
 From these our Henry lineally descends.

78-87. *Injurious* Gaunt, Henry . the wisest . . . that wise . . . Who  
 by his . Henry . descends] 32-42 *Injurious* . Gaunt wise Henry . .  
 the world . . . this wise . . . Who with his Henries lineallie descent Q.

78 *Injurious*] detractory, insulting  
 See 2 *Henry VI.* i iv 51 Used again  
 in address similarly in *Coriolanus* and  
*Cymbeline*

81 *disannuls*] cancels Occurs again  
*Comedy of Errors*, i i. 145 A common  
 word at this time

81, 82 *John of Gaunt* . . *subdue*  
 . . *Spain*] Boswell Stone says War-  
 wick might well have exposed this  
 misrepresentation John of Gaunt  
 claimed Castile in right of his wife  
 Constance, daughter of Pedro But he  
 failed to dethrone the son of Pedro's  
 bastard brother, and obtained only a  
 few slight successes by his invasion  
 Mr. Daniel suggests that popular belief  
 is concerned, since a play was bought  
 by Henslowe entitled "The Conquest  
 of Spayne by John a Gant" More to  
 the point still, than either Stone's  
 history or Daniel's suggestion, is a  
 passage I find in Kyd's *Spanish*  
*Tragedy*, i vi. 48-52, ed. Boas) —

"a valiant Englishman,

Brave John of Gaunt, the Duke of  
 Lancaster,  
 As by his Scutchin plainly may  
 appeare  
 He with a puissant armie came to  
 Spaine,  
 And tooke our King of Castile  
 prisoner "

He is represented on the stage. Kyd's  
 historical scenes are fanciful and inept,  
 but this play of his has hardly been  
 ever surpassed in popularity. We have  
 had a passage (immediately succeeding  
 this one) from it already in 2 *Henry*  
*VI.* "From depth of under ground"  
 No play was more, or nearly so much,  
 quoted from.

87 *lineally descends*] Compare with  
 omitted line above at i. i 118 (Q),  
 where the words are "lineallie descent,"  
 as here in Q "Lineally" is not again  
 in Shakespeare It is in the *Lay of*  
*Clorinda*, on Sydney's death, appended  
 to Spenser's *Astrophel*, "lineallie de-  
 rived" "Discent" is "descended."

- War* Oxford, how haps it, in this smooth discourse,  
 You told not how Henry the Sixth hath lost  
 All that which Henry the Fifth had gotten ? 90  
 Methinks these peers of France should smile at that.  
 But for the rest, you tell a pedigree  
 Of threescore and two years, a silly time  
 To make prescription for a kingdom's worth
- Oxf.* Why, Warwick, canst thou speak against thy liege, 95  
 Whom thou obeyedst thirty and six years,  
 And not bewray thy treason with a blush ?
- War* Can Oxford, that did ever fence the right,  
 Now buckler falsehood with a pedigree?  
 For shame ! leave Henry, and call Edward king 100
- Oxf.* Call him my king, by whose injurious doom  
 My elder brother, the Lord Aubrey Vere,  
 Was done to death ? and more than so, my father,  
 Even in the downfall of his mellow'd years,  
 When nature brought him to the door of death ? 105

88-94 *Oxford, how haps it hath lost . . . that which* pedigree . . .  
*worth* 43-49 *Oxford, how haps that . . . had lost that . . . pedigree*  
 (pedigree Q 3) *worth* Q 95-97 *Why, . . . speak liege, Whom*  
 . . . six years, And not . . . blush ?] 50-52 *Why . . . denie thy king, Whom*  
 . . . eight yeeres, And bewray . . . treasons blush ? Q. 98-108. *Can*  
*Oxford . . . pedigree ? . . . by whose . . . elder . . . When nature to the door*  
*house of York* 53-63 *Can Oxford . . . pedigree ? (pedigree Q 3) . . . by*  
*whom mine elder when age did call him to the dore . . . whilst . . . house*  
*of Yorke* Q (lines wrongly divided for verse)

89, 90 *hath lost All that*] Warwick rubs this into poor Henry on suitable occasions See I i 110 and the previous lines

96 *thirty and six years*] "thirty and eight years" in Q Boswell Stone reconciles this discrepancy as follows Warwick was attainted by the Lancastrian parliament at Coventry, 1459, and his allegiance was merely formal after the attempt made on his life ten months previously (1458), with which however we have nothing to do in the play. The date in the Quarto is perhaps a mere misprint—but the reduced time here may refer to the period exclusive of the wars, while that in Q brings the date down to the time of the speaker

98 *fence*] defend, guard See II vi 75 above

99 *buckler*] defend.\* See 2 *Henry VI* III ii. 216 Also in *Taming of the Shrew*, III ii 241

101-105 *whose injurious doom . . .*

*door of death*] Hall tells in the first year of *Edward the IV.* (1461) "In the which yere he called his high Court of Parliament . . . In the whiche Parliament, the erle of Oxford farre stricken in age and the Lord Aubrey Vere, his sonne and heire, whether it were for malyce of their enemies, or thei wer suspected or had offended, thei both and diuers of their counsailors, wer attainted and put to execution, whiche caused Ihon erle of Oxford ever after to rebell" (p 258)

103 *done to death*] See note at I iv 108 above, and at II i 103

104 *mellow'd*] See again *Richard III* III vii 168 Kyd applies the word similarly in *The Spanish Tragedy* (I iii. 41, ed Boas) "My yeeres were mellow, his but young and greene" (ante 1589)

105 *door of death*] Compare Golding's Ovid (vii. 225) "Now at deathes doore and spent with yeares" (1567).

No, Warwick, no, while life upholds this arm,  
This arm upholds the house of Lancaster.

*War* And I the house of York

*K Lew.* Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, and Oxford,  
Vouchsafe at our request to stand aside, 110  
While I use further conference with Warwick.

[*They stand aloof*]

*Q. Mar* Heavens grant that Warwick's words bewitch him  
not!

*K. Lew* Now, Warwick, tell me, even upon thy conscience,  
Is Edward your true king? for I were loath  
To link with him that were not lawful chosen 115

*War* Thereon I pawn my credit and mine honour.

*K Lew.* But is he gracious in the people's eye?

*War.* The more that Henry was unfortunate

*K. Lew* Then further, all dissembling set aside,  
Tell me for truth the measure of his love 120  
Unto our sister Bona.

*War* Such it seems  
As may beseem a monarch like himself.  
Myself have often heard him say and swear  
That this his love was an eternal plant,  
Whereof the root was fixed in virtue's ground, 125  
The leaves and fruit maintain'd with beauty's sun,

109-113 *Queen . Vouchsafe . . . with Warwick Q. Mar. Heavens*  
*him not! K. Lew. Now, Warwick] 64-67. Queene vouchsafe to forbear*  
*while Till I doe talke a word with Warwike. Now Warwike Q (Queen's speech*  
*omitted) 113-115. tell me . . . for I . . . were not lawful chosen] 67-69*  
*even upon thy honor tell me true Is Edward lawfull king or no? For I . . .*  
*is not lawful heere Q. 116-118 Thereon my . . . honour K Lew. But*  
*is eye? . . . was unfortunate] 70-72 Thereon . . . mine honour and my*  
*credit. Lew But eyes? . . . is unfortunate Q 119-121 Then further*  
*. . . Bona] 73 What is his loue to our sister Bona? Q 121-128 Such it*  
*. . . Whereof the root . . . fixed . . . quite his pain] 74-81 Such it . The*  
*root whereof fixt . . . quite his paine Q*

106 *upholds]* supports, sustains

115 *lawful chosen]* "lawful heir" in  
*Q* The words here refer to one claim  
to the crown, those in the Quarto to  
the other Hall tells these details at  
considerable length, a few words suffice  
on this point "after Te Deum sung  
with great solemnity, he was conveyed  
to Westmynster, and there set in the  
hawle, with the sceptre royall in his  
hand, where, to all the people whiche  
there in a great number were assembled,  
his title and clayme to the croune of  
England was declared by 11 maner of

wayes the fyrste as sonne and heyre  
to Duke Richard his father, right  
enheritor to the same the second by  
auctoritie of Parliament and forfeiture  
committed by Kyng Henry Wherupon  
it was agayne demanded of the com-  
mons, if they would admitte, and take  
the sayd erle as their prince & soue-  
raigne lord, which al with one voice  
cried yea, yea" (p 252)

124 *eternal]* Here *Qq* correct the  
Folio, which reads "externall" War-  
burton made the change.



Exempt from envy, but not from disdain

Unless the Lady Bona quit his pain

*K. Lew* Now, sister, let us hear your firm resolve.

*Bona* Your grant, or your denial, shall be mine 130

[*To Warwick*] Yet I confess that often ere this day,

When I have heard your king's desert recounted,

Mine ear hath tempted judgment to desire.

*K. Lew* Then, Warwick, thus our sister shall be Edward's,

And now forthwith shall articles be drawn 135

Touching the jointure that your king must make,

Which with her dowry shall be counterpoised.

Draw near, Queen Margaret, and be a witness

That Bona shall be wife to the English king.

*Prince* To Edward, but not to the English king 140

*Q. Mar.* Deceitful Warwick! it was thy device

By this alliance to make void my suit

Before thy coming Lewis was Henry's friend

*K. Lew* And still is friend to him and Margaret

But if your title to the crown be weak, 145

As may appear by Edward's good success,

Then 'tis but reason that I be releas'd

From giving aid which late I promised.

Yet shall you have all kindness at my hand

That your estate requires and mine can yield. 150

*War* Henry now lives in Scotland at his ease,

Where having nothing, nothing can he lose

And as for you yourself, our quondam queen,

You have a father able to maintain you,

And better 'twere you troubled him than France 155

129-133 *Now, sister . . . Yet I this day, When I . . . desert . . . ear*  
*hath desire*] 82-86 *Then sister But ere this date I must confesse, When*  
*I . . . deserts . . . eares haue desire* Q 134-137 *Then, Warwick*  
*counterpoised*] omitted Q 138-140. *Draw near . . . not to the English king*]  
 87-89 *Then draw neere not the English King* Q 141-150 *Deceitful*  
*Warwick . . . mine can yield*] omitted Q 151-155. *Henry now . . . main-*

127 *Exempt from envy, but not from*  
*disdain* Unless] Not anywhere explained  
 satisfactorily, though several explanations  
 are given. It is a complicated  
 sentence with its many clauses. Perhaps  
 Warwick harks back to the principal  
 "his love." "Envy" means ill-  
 feeling, hate, usually with Shakespeare.  
 His love is secure from the feeling of  
 dislike (to Bona), no matter what  
 happens, so well rooted is it. But it is  
 not safe from the attacks of disdain

(from others), unless the Lady Bona  
 quit his pain. It is quite in Shake-  
 speare's manner to depart from one  
 antecedent, and substitute its neighbour,  
 in the midst of a passage

128 *quit his pain*] requite his sorrow  
 or trouble, satisfy him

153 *quondam queen*] See above, III.  
 1. 23, and note.

154 *You have a father . . .*] Johnson  
 said "this seems ironical." Margaret's  
 angry reply shows how it went home.

*Q. Mar* Peace, impudent and shameless Warwick, peace,  
 Proud setter up and puller down of kings!  
 I will not hence, till, with my talk and tears,  
 Both full of truth, I make King Lewis behold  
 Thy sly conveyance and thy lord's false love, 160  
 For both of you are birds of self-same feather.

[*Post blowing a horn within.*]

*K. Lew* Warwick, this is some post to us or thee

*Enter a Post.*

*Post* My lord ambassador, these letters are for you,  
 Sent from your brother, Marquess Montague  
 These from our king unto your majesty; 165  
 And, madam, these for you; from whom I know not.

[*They read their letters.*]

*Oxf* I like it well that our fair queen and mistress  
 Smiles at her news, while Warwick frowns at his  
*Prince* Nay, mark how Lewis stamps as he were nettled.  
 I hope all's for the best 170

*K. Lew* Warwick, what are thy news? and yours, fair queen?

*Q. Mar* Mine, such as fill my heart with unhop'd joys

*War* Mine, full of sorrow and heart's discontent

*K. Lew* What! has your king married the Lady Grey?

And now, to soothe your forgery and his, 175

*tain you, . you troubled . . France*] 90-94 *Henry now mainetaine*  
*your state . to trouble . . France Q.* 156-161. *Peace feather*  
 omitted *Q.* 161 *Post blowing* ] *Ff* (after *false love*), *Sound for a post*  
*within Q.* (after *France*) 162. *Warwick . . thee*] 95. *Here comes some post*  
*Warwicke to thee or vs Q.* 163-166 *My lord . . these letters are . .*  
*Marquess These And . . from not*] 96-99 *My Lord . . this*  
*letter is . . Marquis This . And these to you Madam, from . not Q*  
 167-170. *I like . . while . his . . Nay, mark nettled I . best*  
 100-102. *I like . when Warwicke frets at his . . And marke . . nettled Q.*  
 171 *Warwick . queen*] 103 *Now Margaret and Warwicke, what are your*  
*news? Q.* 172, 173 *Mine . heart . joys . discontent*] 104, 105  
*Mine . . heart full of woe . . discontent Q.* 174-178. *What! has . .*

157. *Proud . kings*] See II. iii. 37, above, and note. Malone makes this repetition an argument in his case. This speech of Margaret's is entirely additional to *Q.*

160 *conveyance*] jugglery, fraud, deceit. See I *Henry VI.* i. iii. 2. Spenser has the word in *Mother Hubbards Tale*. And it is in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. i. 47, ed. Boas). "thy conveyance in Andrea's love For which thou wert aduic'd to punishment."

161 *birds . . feather*] See II. i. 170 above, and note.

169 *nettled*] Not again in Shakespeare, except metaphorically "Nettled and stung with pismires" (I *Henry IV.* i. iii. 240). Compare Greene's *Pinner of Wakefield* (Grosart, xiv. 139) "so nettled with love."

175 *soothe*] enter into the humour of it, act in agreement or conformity with. Often used by Shakespeare, in our sense of "to humour."

175 *forgery*] "deceit. Spenser has "womanish fine forgery" (*Faerie Queene*, II. xii. 28). And compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, I. iii. 72 (ed. Boas),

Sends me a paper to persuade me patience?  
Is this the alliance that he seeks with France?  
Dare he presume to scorn us in this manner?

*Q. Mar.* I told your majesty as much before.

This proveth Edward's love and Warwick's honesty 180

*War* King Lewis, I here protest, in sight of heaven,  
And by the hope I have of heavenly bliss,  
That I am clear from this misdeed of Edward's,  
No more my king, for he dishonours me;  
But most himself, if he could see his shame 185  
Did I forget that by the house of York  
My father came untimely to his death?  
Did I let pass the abuse done to my niece?  
Did I impale him with the regal crown?  
Did I put Henry from his native right? 190  
And am I guerdon'd at the last with shame?  
Shame on himself! for my desert is honour  
And to repair my honour lost for him,  
I here renounce him and return to Henry.  
My noble queen, let former grudges pass, 195

*to soothe . . . in this manner?]* 106-108 *What hath . . . to excuse himself*  
*sends us a post of papers How dares he presume to use us thus?* *Q.* 179, 180  
*I told . . . before This honesty]* 109 *This honesty* (179 omitted) *Q.*  
181-190. *King Lewis But most . . . Did I put native right]* 110-119  
*King Lewis . . . And most . . . And thrust King Henry from his native home*  
*Q.* 191-194. *And am I . . . return to Henry]* 120 *And most ungratefull*  
*doth he use me thus?* *Q.* 195-198 *My . . . pass, And his wrong to*  
*state]* 121-124. *My gracious Queene pardon what is past, And . . . the*  
*wrongs done to . . . state Q.*

*ante* 1589 "O wicked forgerie O traiterous miscreant"

176. *persuade me patience]* advise me patience. An unusual construction for this verb "To" or "into" is omitted

186, 187 *Did I death]* We have here Warwick's reasons, as Shakespeare viewed the subject, for his abandoning the king Ritson's collection, alluded to above, are all different see note at III. iii 43, and extract from Hall, at the first line of this scene Warwick's father (Earl of Salisbury in this play) was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield and executed by the Lancastrians at Pomfret See Hall, p 251, the passage is already quoted at the setting of York's head on a pole at York (I iv 179, 180) See Boswell Stone, p 247, on this Warwick See also Malone's note here, where he derives "another proof," to

his satisfaction, of the different authorships—plucking the flower guess from the nettle confusion.

188. *Did I . . . niece?]* From Hall "And further it erreth not from ye treuth that Kyng Edward did attempt a thyng once in the erles house which was much against the erles honestie (whether he woulde haue deflowred his daughter or his niece, ye certainty was not for both their honours openly knownen)"

189 *impale . . . crown]* See III ii 171 above (note)

190 *put Henry from]* "thrust King Henry from his native home" is the reading in *Q.* For this use of "thrust," see 2 *Henry VI* IV. i 94 —

"thrust from the crown  
By shameful murder,"  
where I have quoted an example from Peele's *David and Bethsabe*.

- And henceforth I am thy true servitor  
 I will revenge his wrong to Lady Bona,  
 And replant Henry in his former state
- Q. Mar* Warwick, these words have turn'd my hate to love,  
 And I forgive and quite forget old faults, 200  
 And joy that thou becom'st King Henry's friend
- War* So much his friend, ay, his unfeigned friend,  
 That if King Lewis vouchsafe to furnish us  
 With some few bands of chosen soldiers,  
 I'll undertake to land them on our coast, 205  
 And force the tyrant from his seat by war  
 'Tis not his new-made bride shall succour him  
 And as for Clarence, as my letters tell me,  
 He's very likely now to fall from him,  
 For matching more for wanton lust than honour, 210  
 Or than for strength and safety of our country.
- Bona* Dear brother, how shall Bona be reveng'd  
 But by thy help to this distressed queen?
- Q. Mar* Renowned prince, how shall poor Henry live,  
 Unless thou rescue him from foul despair? 215
- Bona* My quarrel and this English queen's are one  
*War* And mine, fair Lady Bona, joins with yours  
*K. Lew* And mine with hers, and thine and Margaret's.  
 Therefore at last I firmly am resolv'd  
 You shall have aid. 220

199-201 *Warwick* becom'st . friend] 125, 126 *Yes Warwicke I doe quite forget thy former Faults, if now thou wilt become . . . friend* Q 202-207. *So much . succour him* ] 127-132 *So much succour him* Q 208-218 *And as for Clarence . and Margaret's*] omitted Q 219-225 *Therefore . aid* Q *Mar* Let me . . . once *K. Lew* Then, England's . masquers . bride] 133-137 *Then at the . aide and English . . . Maskers* bride (Queen's speech omitted) Q

196 *servitor*] See 1 *Henry VI* II 1. 5. The word occurs in Hall in this connection Warwick "obtained license of the king, to depart to hys Castel of Warwycke with diuers of the kyngs familar *servitors* . . . as though none inward grudge . . . had been hidden . . . during which tyme, the quene was deliuered of a yonge (!) and fayre lady, named Elizabeth which afterward was wyfe to . . . Henry the VII and mother to Kyng Henry the VIII" (p 266) So far from Warwick at once declaring against King Edward, he "determined himself, couertly dissimulyng, to suffer

all such wronges . til he might spy a tyme conuenient he sayled into England, and with reuerence, saluted the kyng as he was wont to do, and declared his Ambassade . . . as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony" (pp 255-266) 200 *forgive and quite forget*] Compare *Winter's Tale*, III III 125 "I have forgotten and forgiven all" These words occur in the famous speech in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, that begins "It is not now as when Andrea lived . . . We have forgotten and forgiven that" (III. xiv 111) But the collocation is likely to be older

*Q. Mar* Let me give humble thanks for all at once.

*K. Lew* Then, England's messenger, return in post,

And tell false Edward, thy supposed king,

That Lewis of France is sending over masquers

To revel it with him and his new bride

225

Thou seest what's past, ~~to~~ fear thy king withal.

*Bona* Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,

I'll wear the willow garland for his sake.

*Q. Mar.* Tell him, my mourning weeds are laid aside,

And I am ready to put armour on

230

*War.* Tell him from me that he hath done me wrong,

And therefore I'll uncrown him ere't be long

There's thy reward be gone

[Exit Post

*K. Lew*

But, Warwick,

Thou and Oxford, with five thousand men,

226. *Thou . . . withal*] omitted *Q.* 227-233 *Tell him . . . he'll prove*  
*. . . are laid . . . be gone*] 138-144 *Tell him . . . heele be . . . be laide . . .*  
*begone Q.* 233-237. *But, Warwick . . . fresh supply*] omitted *Q.*

223-225 *tell false Edward*  
*masquers To revel*] This is developed  
 later into the tennis ball speech in  
*Henry V* 1 11 249 *et seq* of the First  
 Ambassador —

"the prince our master . . . bids  
 you be advised there's nought in  
 France

That can be with a numble galli-  
 ard won,

You cannot revel into dukedoms  
 there "

The passages here are repeated below,  
 iv 1. 104, etc From *Q* here

226 *fear*] fright, scare

228 *I'll wear the willow garland*  
 Compare *Othello*, iv. iii 51 "Sing  
 all a green willow shall be my garland",  
 and see my note in Arden edition on line  
 42 Spenser has "The willow worne  
 of forlorne Paramours" (*Faerie Queene*,  
 i. 1 9). The willow and poplar were  
 hardly discriminated Peele has,  
 "Cenone entereth with a wreath of  
 poplar on her head" (*Arraignement of*  
*Paris*, III. 1 42 (360, a), 1584). Else-  
 where in Peele's play it is "willow." See,  
 too, Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie*  
 (Shakespeare Library, rept p 133),  
 1390 "apparelled all in tawny, to  
 signifie that he was forsaken on his  
 heade hee wore a garland of willow."

229. *mourning weeds*] Again below,  
 and in *Titus Andronicus*, 1 1 70 The

expression is in Peele's *David and*  
*Bethsabe* (473, b), and in *Lochrine*  
 (near the end)

234-243 *Oxford, with five thousand*  
*men . . . eldest daughter holy*  
*wedlock*] Here we are to skip every-  
 thing for several years until Warwick  
 proclaims open war and roll the doings  
 then backwards to this juncture In  
 the ix year (1470), Hall, 281 "War-  
 wicke and the Duke of Clarence  
 came to the kyngs (Lewis') presence  
 . . . at Amboyse, and . . . was with all  
 kyndes of curtesie and humanitie re-  
 ceued when Margaret, which so-  
 iorned with Duke Reyner her father  
 harde tell that the erle of Warwicke  
 and the Duke . . . wer come to the Frenche  
 Court . . . hopyng of neue comforte  
 with all diligence came to Amboyse,  
 with her onely son Prince Edward  
 And with her came Jasper erle of Pem-  
 broke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford,  
 whiche after duerse long imprison-  
 mentes lately escaped . . . and came  
 to this assembly . . . they determined  
 to conclude a league . . . And first to  
 begin withal, for the more sure founda-  
 cion of the newe amitie, Edward  
 wedded Anne second daughter to therle  
 of Warwicke . . . After this marriage  
 the duke and therles took a solempne  
 othe that they shoulde neuer leaue the  
 warre, until . . . Henry or his sonne,

Shall cross the seas, and bid false Edward battle, 235  
 And, as occasion serves, this noble queen  
 And prince shall follow with a fresh supply  
 Yet ere thou go, but answer me one doubt  
 What pledge have we of thy firm loyalty?  
*War.* This shall assure my constant loyalty 240  
 That if our queen and this young prince agree,  
 I'll join mine eldest daughter and my joy  
 To him forthwith in holy wedlock bands  
*Q. Mar.* Yes, I agree, and thank you for your motion  
 Son Edward, she is fair and virtuous, 245  
 Therefore delay not, give thy hand to Warwick,  
 And, with thy hand, thy faith irrevocable,  
 That only Warwick's daughter shall be thine  
*Prince.* Yes, I accept her, for she well deserves it;  
 And here, to pledge my vow, I give my hand 250  
 [He gives his hand to Warwick.]  
*K. Lew.* Why stay we now? These soldiers shall be levied,  
 And thou, Lord Bourbon, our high admiral,  
 Shall waft them over with our royal fleet

238, 239. *Yet ere . . . loyalty*] 145, 146 *But now tell me Warwike, what assurance I shall haue of thy true loyalte* Q 240-243 *This That if . . . bands*] 147-150 *This . . . If that bandes* Q 244-248 *Yes, I agree be thine*] 151-153 *Withall my heart, that match I like full wel, Loue her sonne Edward, shee is faire and yong, And grue thy hand to Warwike for thy loue* Q 249, 250 *Yes, I accept . . . my hand*] omitted Q 251-255 *Why stay we . . . thou, Lord . . . them over . . . mischance, For dame of France*] 154-159 *It is enough, and now we will prepare, To leue souldiers*

were restored When the league was concluded, the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, monie, and men, and appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admirall of Fraunce with a greate nauie, to defende them . . . that thei might the surer saile into England Kyng Reyner also did help his daughter, to his small power" (280-1) A happier or more skilful feat than the welding together of these two historic assemblies into one dramatic whole, coupled with annihilation of much dreary and featureless historic time, could not possibly have been hit upon See extract above at line 1

235 *bid . . . battle*] See above, 111 70, and note It is in *Faerie Queene* "Bad that same boaster leave to him that lady . . . Or bide him batteile" In a note to this, Upton quotes Lord Bacon's *Life of King*

*Henry VII.* p 93 "Threatening to bid battle to the king" (a gem for the Baconites), and he further compares *Faerie Queene*, "bidding bold defyaunce to his foeman" (i. xi 15). I find an earlier example in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (Arber, p 42), 1579 "bidde them battayle" But Shakespeare took it from Hall (p 293) most likely See extract below at the beginning of Act v

242 *eldest daughter*] See "Clarence will have the younger," below, iv. 1118

250 *pledge . . . hand*] So in *Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 18 "And eke, as pledges firme, right hands together joynd."

252 *Lord Bourbon . . . admiral*] See last extract from Hall.

253. *waft them over*] See 2 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 114, 116, and below, v. vii. 41.

I long till Edward fall by war's mischance,  
For mocking marriage with a dame of France 255

[*Exeunt all but Warwick.*]

War. I came from Edward as ambassador,  
But I return his sworn and mortal foe  
Matter of marriage was the charge he gave me,  
But dreadful war shall answer his demand.  
Had he none else to make a stale but me? 260  
Then none but I shall turn his jest to sorrow.  
I was the chief that raised him to the crown,  
And I'll be chief to bring him down again  
Not that I pity Henry's misery,  
But seek revenge on Edward's mockery. 265

[*Exit.*]

*for to go with you, And you Lord them safelie to the English coast, And chase proud Edward from his slumbring trance, For . the name of France Q. 256-265 I came from . Edward's mockery] 160-169 I came from . . Edwards mockerie Q*

260 *make a stale*] Not in Q. Compare "was there none else in Rome to make a stale But Saturnine" (*Titus Andronicus*, I. i 304, 305), and "To make a stale of me amongst these mates" (*Taming of the Shrew*, I. i. 58) The phrase occurs in *Menechmus* by W. W. (*Six Old Plays*), v. i. "He makes me a stale and a laughing stocke to all the world" A "stale" was a decoy, an arrangement which made a fool of one. It is very commonly used in Greene. Spenser has the word in *Faerie Queene*, II. i. 4 "Still as he went he craftie *stales* did lay." A few examples from Greene explain the double sense, or transference of sense "he had bin too sore canuased in the Nettes, to strike at euery *stale*" (*Mamulha* (Grosart, II. 17)), "Shall I

then Thersandro see the traine, and yet fall into the trappe? shall I spie the nettes and yet strike at the *stale*?" (*Card of Fancie* (IV 147)) And *James the Fourth* (XII 216). "the court is counted Venus net, Where gifts and vowes for *stales* are often set." The "stale" was some ludicrous object to attract the victim. Or (as in Ben Jonson) a stalking arrangement. See *Catiline*, III. iv. —

"dull stupid Lentulus,

My *stale*, with whom I stalk."

The expression is in *Euphues* (Arber, p. 96), 1579 "I was made thy *stale* and Philautus thy laughing stocke." Steevens has collected an array of parallels in his notes on this word in *Comedy of Errors* and *Taming of a Shrew*

4

## -ACT IV

SCENE I.—*London The palace**Enter* GLOUCESTER, CLARENCE, SOMERSET, and MONTAGUE.*Glou* Now tell me, brother Clarence, what think you  
Of this new marriage with the Lady Grey?

Hath not our brother made a worthy choice?

*Clar* Alas! you know 'tis far from hence to France,  
How could he stay till Warwick made return?

5

*Som.* My lords, forbear this talk; here comes the king*Glou* And his well-chosen bride*Clar.* I mind to tell him plainly what I think*Flourish Enter King* EDWARD, attended, Lady GREY, as  
Queen; PEMBROKE, STAFFORD, HASTINGS, and others*K. Edw.* Now, brother of Clarence, how like you our choice,  
That you stand pensive as half malcontent?

10

ACT IV SCENE I] omitted Ff, Q. *Enter* . . .] Ff (reading Richard for Gloucester), *Enter King Edward, the Queene and Clarence, and Gloster, and Montague and Hastings, and Pembroke, with souldiers* Q. 1-8. *Glou.* Now tell me . . . *Clar* I mind . . . think] omitted Q 8. *Flourish Enter* . . .] *Flourish Enter King Edward, Lady Grey, Pembroke, Stafford, Hastings* foure stand on one side, and foure on the other. Ff (for Q, see above at l. 1). 9, 10. *K. Edw.* Now . . . malcontent] 1, 2 *Edw.* Brothers of Clarence, and of Gloucester, What thinke you of our marriage with the ladie Gray? Q.

9. brother of Clarence, how . . . him like a frende, nor kept promise  
choice] Shakespeare has here transferred with hym . . . the duke in a greate  
to King Edward the substance of War- fury answered, why, my lorde, thynke  
wick's interview with Clarence, as told you to haue hym kynd to you that is  
in Hall and Grafton—but not in Holin- vnkynd, yea, and vnnatural to me be-  
shed “the erle of Warwicke . . . per- ynge his awne brother. . . . This you  
ceived by other, or had perfect know- knowe well enough, that the heire of  
ledge of hymself, that the duke of the Lorde Scales he hath maned to his  
Clarence bare not the best will to Kyng wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde  
Edward his brother. . . . So at time Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen  
and place conuenient, the erle began to his wifes senné, and there of the  
to complan to the duke of the ingrati- lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to  
tude and doublenes of Kyng Edward, the lorde Hastynges. thre mariages  
sayng that he had neither handled more meter for his twoo brethren and



- Clar* As well as Lewis of France, or the Earl of Warwick,  
Which are so weak of courage and in judgment  
That they'll take no offence at our abuse
- K. Edw* Suppose they take offence without a cause,  
They are but Lewis and Warwick I am Edward, 15  
Your king and Warwick's, and must have my will.
- Glou* And shall have your will, because our king .  
Yet hasty marriage seldom proveth well
- K. Edw* Yea, brother Richard, are you offended too ?
- Glou* Not I 20  
No, God forbid that I should wish them severed  
Whom God hath join'd together, ay, and 'twere pity  
To sunder them that yoke so well together
- K. Edw* Setting your scorns and your mislike aside,  
Tell me some reason why the Lady Grey 25  
Should not become my wife and England's queen  
And you too, Somerset and Montague,  
Speak freely what you think.
- Clar* Then this is mine opinion . that King Lewis  
Becomes your enemy for mocking him 30  
About the marriage of the Lady Bona
- Glou* And Warwick, doing what you gave in charge,  
Is now dishonoured by this new marriage.
- K. Edw* What if both Lewis and Warwick be appeas'd  
By such invention as I can devise ? 35

11-13. As well . . . in judgment . . . at our abuse] 3-5 My Lord, we thinke as Warwike and Lewes, That are so slacke in iudgement . . . at this suddaine marriage Q. 14-16. Suppose They are . . . I . . . Warwick's . . . will] 6-8. Suppose they doe, they are . . . and I am your . . . Warwike's And will be obayed Q. 17, 18 And your . . . well] 9, 10 And shall, because our king, but yet such Sudden marriages . . . well Q. 19 Yea . . . offended too ?] 11. Yea . . . against us too ? Q. 20-23. Not I . . . ay, and . . . together] 12-14 Not I my Lord, no God forbend that I should Once gaine save your highnesse pleasure, I, & . . . together Q. 24-28 Setting . . . mislike aside, Tell . . . reason . . . Should . . . wife and . . . think] 15-19 Setting dislikes aside, Shew . . . reasons . . . Maye not be my loue and Englands Queene ? Speake freele Clarence, Gloster, Montague and Hastings Q. 29-31 Then thus . . . Bona] 20, 21 My Lord then this is my opinion, That Warwike being dishonoured in his embassage, Doth seeke reuenge to quite his iniuries Q. 32, 33 And Warwick . . . marriage] 23, 24 And Lewes in regard of his sisters wrongs, Doth come with Warwike to supplant your state Q. 34, 35. What . . . Lewis invention devise] 25, 26 Suppose that Lewes . . .

kynne, then for such newe foundlynges . . . But by swete sainte George, I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe, that we were all three one mannes sonnes" (p. 271).

17 And shall] Rowe read "And you shall," and is followed by some editors.

Quartos and Folios are unanimously against the interpolation.

18 hasty marriage . . .] "sudden marriages," Q. Compare Greene (*Mamillia* (Grosart, II. 53, 54), 1583) "How oftentimes they which sued to marrye in haste, did finde sufficient time to repent them at leasure?"

- Mont* Yet to have join'd with France in such alliance  
 Would more have strengthen'd this our commonwealth  
 'Gainst foreign storms than any home-bred marriage
- Hast* Why, knows not Montague that of itself  
 England is safe, if true within itself? 40
- Mont* But the safer when 'tis back'd with France
- Hast* 'Tis better using France than trusting France  
 Let us be back'd with God and with the seas  
 Which he hath given for fence impregnable,  
 And with their helps only defend ourselves . 45  
 In them and in ourselves our safety lies.
- Clar.* For this one speech Lord Hastings well deserves  
 To have the heir of the Lord Hungerford.
- K Edw* Ay, what of that? it was my will and grant ;  
 And for this once my will shall stand for law 50
- Glou* And yet methinks your grace hath not done well,  
 To give the heir and daughter of Lord Scales  
 Unto the brother of your loving bride  
 She better would have fitted me or Clarence ,  
 But in your bride you bury brotherhood 55
- Clar* Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir  
 Of the Lord Bonville on your new wife's son,  
 And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.
- K Edw* Alas ! poor Clarence, is it for a wife  
 That thou art malcontent? I will provide thee 60

meanes . . . best devise Q. 36-38 Yet . . . such . . . marriage] But yet . . .  
 this Alliance . . . marriage Q 39, 40. Why . . . itself? 31, 32 Let Eng-  
 land be true within it selfe We need not France nor any alliance with them Q  
 41-46 But the . . . safety lies] omitted Q 47, 48 For this Lord . . .  
 heir Hungerford] 33, 34 For this the Lord . . . daughter and heire  
 . . . Hungerford Q 49, 50. Ay, what . . . law] 35 And what then? It  
 was our will it should be so? Q. 51-58 Glou And yet . . . brotherhood  
*Clar* Or else . . . elsewhere] 36-40 *Clar.* I, and for such a thing too the Lord  
 Scales Did well deserve at your hands, to haue the Daughter of the Lord Bon-  
 field, and left your Brothers go seeke elsewhere, but in Your madnes you burie  
 brotherhood Q. 59, 60. Alas . . . malcontent . . . thee] Alasse, . . . mal-

38 home-bred] Occurs again, *Rich-  
 ard II* i iii 187

40 England is safe, if true . . . it-  
 self] An old sentiment. See again,  
*King John*, v vii. 117 It is also in  
 the old play on which *King John* is  
 founded, date 1591 —

"Let England live but true within  
 it selfe

And all the worlde can neuer wrong  
 her State "

(Hazlitt's Shakespeare's Library, p 320)  
 The following seems to be the same.—

"I ouercome my aduersaries by land  
 and by sea,  
 I do feare no man, all men fearyth  
 me,  
 I had no peere, yf to myselfe I  
 were trewe,  
 Because I am not so, diuers times  
 I do rew "

(Andrew Borde, *Boke of Knowledge*,  
 1542 Spoken by "The Englyshman").  
 41. But the safer] Some Editors  
 follow F 2, reading "Yes, but "

*Clar.* In choosing for yourself you show'd your judgment,  
Which being shallow, you shall give me leave  
To play the broker in mine own behalf,  
And to that end I shortly mind to leave you.

*K. Edw.* Leave me, or tarry, Edward will be king, 65  
And not be tied unto his brother's will

*Q. Eliz.* My lords, before it pleased his majesty  
To raise my state to title of a queen,  
Do me but right, and you must all confess  
That I was not ignoble of descent, 70  
And meaner than myself have had like fortune  
But as this title honours me and mine,  
So your dislikes, to whom I would be pleasing,  
Doth cloud my joys with danger and with sorrow

*K. Edw.* My love, forbear to fawn upon their frowns 75  
What danger or what sorrow can befall thee,  
So long as Edward is thy constant friend,  
And their true sovereign, whom they must obey?  
Nay, whom they shall obey, and love thee too,  
Unless they seek for hatred at my hands; 80  
Which if they do, yet will I keep thee safe,  
And they shall feel the vengeance of my wrath

*Glou.* I hear, yet say not much, but think the more [*Aside.*]

*content, Why man be of good cheere, I will proude thee one Q (male-content Q 3). 61-64 In choosung . . . And to . . . end . . . mind . . . you] 44-47. Naze you plaide the broker so ill for your selfe, That you shall giue me leane to make my Chouse as I thinke good, And to . . . intent . . . meane . . . you Q. 65, 66 Leave . . . Edward . . . not be . . . will] 48, 49 Leane . . . I am full resolved, Edward will not be tied to . . . wils Q. 67-70 My lords . . . queen, Do me . . . all confess . . . of descent] 50-53 My lords doe me . . . Confesse, before it pleased his highnesse to aduance, My state . . . Queene, That I . . . in my birth Q. 71-74. And meaner . . . with sorrow] omitted Q. 75-82 My love . . . my wrath] 54-56 Forbeare my loue to . . . frownes, For thee they must obey, naze shall obase And if they looke for fauour at my hands Q. 83 Glou I hear . . . more] omitted Q*

61, 62 judgment . . . shallow] Compare "shallow spirit of judgment" (*1 Henry VI* II iv. 16) And Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, IV ii. 8, 9, (Boas) —

"Alas, the Christians are but very shallow  
In giuing iudgement of a man at armes."

In view of the name of the famous Justice of a few years later, these collections are interesting. Needless to say, *1 Henry VI* preceded Kyd's play

63. *play the broker . . . behalfe]* do

my own business, be factor or agent for myself. Similar to a favourite expression of Shakespeare's, "be my own attorney"

72 me and mine] myself and my people or family. See again *Tempest*, I. ii 125. It occurs in *Lochnie* (I i) "In pitched field encountered me and mine" "Thee and thine" is in the same play (V iv) and several times in Shakespeare's early work

83 I hear, yet say . . . more] An old and varied phrase. Heywood has "I see much, but I say little and do

*Enter a Post.*

- K. Edw.* Now, messenger, what letters or what news  
From France? 85
- Post.* My sovereign liege, no letters, and few words,  
But such as I, without your special pardon,  
Dare not relate
- K. Edw.* Go to, we pardon thee: therefore, in brief,  
Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess them 90  
What answer makes King Lewis unto our letters?
- Post.* At my depart these were his very words:  
"Go tell false Edward, thy supposed king,  
That Lewis of France is sending over masquers  
To revel it with him and his new bride" 95
- K. Edw.* Is Lewis so brave? belike he thinks me Henry.  
But what said Lady Bona to my marriage?
- Post.* These were her words, utter'd with mild disdain  
"Tell him, in hope he'll prove a widower shortly,  
I'll wear the willow garland for his sake." 100
- K. Edw.* I blame not her, she could say little less;

84, 85 *Enter* Now . . . France? 57, 58 *Mont.* My lord, heere is the messenger returned from France. *Enter a Messenger.* *Edw.* Now Sirra, what letters or what newes? Q. 86-88 My . . . relate] *Mes* No letters my lord, and such newes as without your highnesse speciall pardon I dare not relate (prose 3 lines Q. 3) Q. 89-91. Go to . . . letters? 61, 62. We pardon thee, and as neere as thou canst Tell mee what said Lewis to our letters? Q. 92-95 *Post* At my depart . . . bride] 63-66 *Mes* At my departure . . . bride Q. 96, 97. Is Lewis . . . my marriage? 67, 68 Is Lewis . . . these wrongs? Q. 98-100 These . . . in hope . . . sake] 69, 70 Tel him, quoth she, in hope . . . sake Q. 101-103 I blame . . . place] 71-73 She had the wrong, indeed she could saue little lesse. But what . . . as I heare, she was then in place? Q.

less" (*Proverbs*, ed J Sharman, p. 72, 1546), and at p. 98 (*ibid.*) "I say little but I think the more" And *Jack Fugger* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii 137), 1563 "I say nothing, but I think somewhat" And in *Carle of Carlile* (Percy Folio, ed Furnival, iii, 288), circa 1500 —

"I said nought,

Noe said the carle, but more thou thought"

Swift put it (1738) "he says nothing but he pays it off with thinking." Earliest I have met is Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (Globe, p. 209). "He says little but he thinks the more" Gloucester's appearance (Richard's before) is usually the signal for some proverbial illustration. This speech is not in Q, where he is only allotted three remarks

against seven in this scene, here Gloucester has need to be a worked out character, in view of future developments. He and Queen Margaret receive special attention. See Introduction upon Gloucester's use of proverbs. See above, iii ii 113, iii. ii 50

92 *At my depart*] "At my departure", the words in Q. "At my depart" occurs again in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v iv 96, and 2 *Henry VI.* i. 1. 2. See note at latter for examples from Greene. It occurs several times in the *Spanish Tragedy*, always as here, or with the personal pronoun varied

96. *belike*] See above, i. 1. 51, and ii. 1. 148. A favourite with Shakespeare all the time. Seven examples occur in this play

She had the wrong. But what said Henry's queen?

For I have heard that she was there in place.

*Post.* "Tell him," quoth she, "my mourning weeds are done,  
And I am ready to put armour on." 105

*K. Edw* Belike she minds to play the Amazon

But what said Warwick to these injuries?

*Post.* He, more incens'd against your majesty

Than all the rest, discharg'd me with these words

"Tell him from me that he hath done me wrong, 110

And therefore I'll uncrown him ere't be long."

*K. Edw* Ha! durst the traitor breathe out so proud words?

Well, I will arm me, being thus forewarn'd.

They shall have wars, and pay for their presumption.

But say, is Warwick friends with Margaret? 115

*Post.* Ay, gracious sovereign, they are so link'd in friendship,

That young Prince Edward marries Warwick's daughter

*Clar* Belike the elder, Clarence will have the younger

Now, brother king, farewell, and sit you fast,

104, 105 *Tell him . . . are done . . . on*] 74, 75. *Tell him . . . be Doone*  
 . . . *on* Q 106, 107. *Belike* minds injuries] 76, 77 *Then belike*  
 . . . *meanes . . . injuries* Q 108-111 *He* *Tell . . . that . . . long*  
 78-80 *He more incensed then the rest my Lord, Tell him quoth he, that*  
*long* Q 112-115 *Ha' . . . so . . . Well . . . me, being . . . But say . .*  
*Margaret*] 81-83. *Ha, . . . such . . . But . . . me to prevent the worst But*  
*what . . . Margaret*] Q 116, 117. *Ay . . . they are . . . daughter*] 84, 85  
*I my good Lord, theare daughter* Q 118 *Belike . . . younger*] 86, 87  
*The elder, belike, Clarence shall . . . Yonger* Q 119-122. *Now . . . your-*  
*self*] omitted Q.

103 *there in place*] there in person, there "Hir armes in place again did come" (Golding's Ovid, i 929). "Then was she fayre alone, when none was faire in place" (*Faerie Queene*, i ii 38)

"Ate, from lowest hell

Behold I come in place"

(Peele, *Arraignement of Paris*, 351, a). "Here in place," and "there in place," meaning simply "present," both occur in *The Contention and True Tragedie* See *Measure for Measure*, v 504 See below, iv vi. 31 It occurs also in *Taming of the Shrew* (both the old play and Shakespeare's) It is quite common, and hardly noteworthy, but Steevens says "In place, a gallicism"

104. *done*] useless, no longer needed

106 *play the Amazon*]. See *I Henry VI.* i ii 104 Margaret has already received this appropriate compellation in more vigorous terms (I iv 114)

113 *arm me* *forewarn'd*] forewarned is forearmed, a translation of "praemonitus, praemunitus" Occurs in Greene's *Tritameron* (Grosart, iii 119), 1587, and again in his *Penelope's Web* (v 208) Not in Q The saying occurs in *Arden of Feversham* also

118 *elder, Clarence will . . . younger*] See above, iii iii 242, and extract from Hall, where the younger daughter (Anne) is allotted to Prince Edward (iv ii 12)

119 *sit you fast*] keep your position firmly, "sit tight," mind yourself Compare Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, iii i "Sit fast, Sebastian, and in this work God and good men labour for Portugal." Hence the name of one of the most troublesome garden weeds, *Ranunculus repens* (crowfoot or buttercup) in northern districts, "sit-

For I will hence to Warwick's other daughter ; 120  
 That, though I want a kingdom, yet in marriage  
 I may not prove inferior to yourself  
 You that love me and Warwick follow me

[*Exit Clarence, and Somerset follows.*]

*Glou* [*Aside*] Not I.

My thoughts aim at a further matter, I 125  
 Stay not for the love of Edward, but the crown

*K Edw* Clarence and Somerset both gone to Warwick!

Yet am I arm'd against the worst can happen,  
 And haste is needful in this desperate case  
 Pembroke and Stafford, you in our behalf 130  
 Go levy men, and make prepare for war ;  
 They are already, or quickly will be landed :  
 Myself in person will straight follow you

[*Exeunt Pembroke and Stafford.*]

But, ere I go, Hastings and Montague,

123 You . . . me] 87<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, 88. All you . . . me Q. *Exit* follows] *Exit*  
*Clarence and Somerset* Q. 124-126 *Glou* Not I . . . crown] omitted Q.  
 127 *Clarence* . . . *Warwick*] 89 *Clarence and Somerset fled to Warwick* Q.  
 128, 129 Yet am I . . . case] omitted Q. 130-133 *Pembroke* . . . follow  
 you] 96-100 *Edw* *Pembrooke*, go raise an armie presentlie, Pitch vp my tent,  
 for in the field this night I meane to rest, and on the morrow morne, Ile march to  
 meet proud *Warwike* ere he land Those stragling troopes which he hath got in  
*France* Q. 134-139. But . . . friends] 101-106 But ere I goe *Montague* and  
*Hastings*, You of all the rest are neerest allied In bloud to *Warwike*, therefore tell  
 me, if You fauour him more then me or not Speake truelie, for I had rather  
 haue you open Enemies than hollow friends Q.

fast" See below, v. 11. 3 "Now, Montague, sit fast"

123 You that love follow me] A stereotyped expression See "You that be the king's friends, follow me" (2 *Henry VI* iv. 11. 180, and note to passage). See *Richard III.* iii. iv. 81 And a similarly formed line below, iv. vii. 39 See also Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii. 114) —

"Therefore they that love the Senate and Marius  
 Now follow him  
*Sylla*. And all that love *Sylla*  
 come down to him"

And *Kyd*, *Cornelia*, iii. 1. 113 —

"expert Souldiours  
 That lou'd our liberty and follow'd him"

130, 131. *Pembroke and Stafford* . . . Go levy men] "When Kyng *Edwarde* (to whom all the dooynges of the Erle of *Warwike*, and the Duke

his brother, were manifest and ouerte) was by diuerse letters sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northren men, wer with all spede commyng towarde London . . . he sent to Wylliam lorde Herbert, whom, within twoo yeres before, he had created erle of *Pembroke*, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men Wherupon he accompagnied with . . . aboue vi or vii thousande Welshemenne, well furnished, marched forward . . . And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted *Humpfray lorde Stafford* of *Southwike* . . . with hym he had eight hundred archers" (*Hall*, p. 273)

131 prepare] preparation This is a trick of *Lodge's* "Stragglng troops" in Q here recalls *Greene*, who uses the adjective contemptuously very often Compare "stragglers" (soldiers from *France*) in *Richard III.* v. iii. 327

Resolve my doubt. You twain, of all the rest, 135  
 Are near to Warwick by blood and by alliance :  
 Tell me if you love Warwick more than me ?  
 If it be so, then both depart to him ;  
 I rather wish you foes than hollow friends :  
 But if you mind to hold your true obedience, 140  
 Give me assurance with some friendly vow,  
 That I may never have you in suspect

*Mont.* So God help Montague as he proves true !  
*Hast* And Hastings as he favours Edward's cause.  
*K Edw* Now, brother Richard, will you stand by us ? 145  
*Glo.* Ay, in despite of all that shall withstand you  
*K Edw* Why so ! then am I sure of victory  
 Now therefore let us hence , and lose no hour  
 Till we meet Warwick with his foreign power. [*Exeunt*]

SCENE II — *A plain in Warwickshire.*

*Enter WARWICK and OXFORD with French Soldiers.*

*War.* Trust me, my lord, all hitherto goes well ;  
 The common people by numbers swarm to us.

*Enter CLARENCE and SOMERSET*

But see where Somerset and Clarence comes !  
 Speak suddenly, my lords, are we all friends ?

140-142 *But if . . . suspect*] omitted Q 143, 144 *So God . . . cause*] 107,  
 108 *So God . . . cause* Q 145, 146 *Now, brother . . . by us . . . despite*  
 . . . you] 90-95 *What saie your brother . . . to us ?* *Glo.* *I my Lord in desptight*  
 . . . you. *For why hath Nature Made me halt downe right, but that I should*  
*be valiant and stand to it, for if I would I cannot runne awate* Q 147-149  
*Why so . . . power*] 109 *It shall suffice, come then lets march awate* *Exeunt*  
*Omnes* Q (for two last lines of Scene see 96-100 Q).

SCENE II.

*Enter . . . ] Enter Warwick and Oxford in England, . . . souldiers Ff,*  
*Enter . . . with souldiers Q. 1-15 Trust me, my lord . . . townes about]*  
 1-15 *Trust me, my lords . . . town about* Q

139 *hollow friends*] See above,  
 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii 66, and *Hamlet*, III  
 ii 218. "Better an open enemy than  
 a false friend" was perhaps a proverb.  
 "Open" in Q here (undisguised) has  
 occurred at I. ii 19, "open war," and  
 elsewhere in Shakespeare.

142. *suspect*] suspicion Common  
 in these plays, but not in Shakespeare's  
 better work.

SCENE II

1 *Trust me*] A favourite ejaculation  
 in Shakespeare It occurs in Peele's  
*Jack Straw*  
 2 *common people . . . swarm*] See  
 note at II. vi 8 Compare Hall  
 "noysed and published to the common  
 people" (p. 275)

*Clar* Fear not that, my lord

5

*War.* Then, gentle Clarence, welcome unto Warwick

And welcome, Somerset I hold it cowardice

To rest mistrustful where a noble heart

Hath pawn'd an open hand in sign of love,

Else might I think, that Clarence, Edward's brother, 10

Were but a feigned friend to our proceedings

But welcome, sweet Clarence, my daughter shall be  
thine

And now what rests, but in night's coverture,

Thy brother being carelessly encamp'd,

His soldiers lurking in the town about,

15

And but attended by a simple guard,

We may surprise and take him at our pleasure?

Our scouts have found the adventure very easy

16-18 *And but*      *very easy*] 16-18 *And but* .      *verie easie* Q

12-24 *my daughter shall be thine*  
.. *nyght's black mantle* .. *seize*  
*himself*] See iv. 1. 118, and note The  
marriage (with the eldest) is thus told  
by Hall "the erle and the duke  
sailed directly to Calais where they  
were solemnly receiued and ioyously  
intertained of the Countesse and her  
twoo daughters And after that the  
duke had sworne on the Sacrament  
to kepe his promise and pacte inuiolate  
made and concluded with the erle of  
Warwike, he married the lady Isabell,  
eldest daughter to the saied erle in our  
Lady Church at Calais" (The VIII Yere,  
p. 272) The event following immedi-  
ately here overpasses a few minor  
affairs, Shakespeare as usual seizing on  
the dramatic positions Hall says  
"The Kyng . . . marched toward  
Warwiche with a great armye . . .  
The erle of Warwiche had by his  
espyalls perfytt knowledge The  
duke . . . c . . . e and encamped himselfe  
with the erles host . . . by the meanes  
of frendes a meane was found how to  
commune of peace the king con-  
ceyung a certayne hope of peace toke  
both lesse hede to himselfe, and also  
lesse feared the outward attemptes of  
his enemyes . . . Warwycke, lyke a wise  
and polituque capytayne entending not  
to lose so great an auantage . . . but  
only . . . trustyng to . . . this enter-  
prise in the dead of the nyght, with  
an elect company of men of warre, as

secretly as was possible set on the  
Kynge's felde, kyllyng them that kepte  
the watche, and or the Kynge were  
ware (for he thought of nothing lesse  
then of that chance that happened) at  
a place called Wolney, iij myle from  
Warwycke, he was taken prysoner, and  
brought to the Castell of Warwycke  
And to the entent that the Kynge's  
frendes myghte not knowe where he  
was caused him by secret iourneys  
in the nyght to be conueyed to Myddel-  
ham Castell in Yorkeshire, and there  
to be kepte under the custody of the  
Archbishope of Yorke his brother"  
(The VIII Yere, p. 275)

13 *rests*] remains to be done See  
above, i. 11 44

13 *coverture*] shade Compare "the  
woodbine *coverture*" (*Much Ado About*  
*Nothing*, iii. 1. 30) The word has  
been mixed up with "overture" in  
*Coriolanus*, i. ix. 46, and here also by  
Warburton Compare Spenser, *Shep-  
heard's Calender*, July —

"Where hast thou *coverture*?"

The wastefull hylls unto his threate  
Is a playne overture"  
(Globe, 466, a)

15 *town*] Q and Ff Nevertheless  
Theobald's alteration to "towns" seems  
to have been universally adopted Ac-  
cording to H21, the "town" was "a  
place called Wolney, four miles from  
Warwick." But see below, iii. 13



That as Ulysses and stout Diomedes  
 With sleight and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents, 20  
 And brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds,  
 So we, well cover'd with the night's black mantle,  
 At unawares may beat down Edward's guard,  
 And seize himself, I say not, slaughter him,  
 For I intend but only to surprise him. 25  
 You that will follow me to this attempt,  
 Applaud the name of Henry with your leader.

[*They all cry "Henry!"*]

Why, then, let's on our way in silent sort  
 For Warwick and his friends, God and Saint George!

[*Exeunt*]

SCENE III.—EDWARD'S *camp near Warwick*

*Enter three Watchmen, to guard the King's tent.*

*First Watch.* Come on, my masters, each man take his stand.  
 The king by this is set him down to sleep.

19-25 *That as Ulysses . . . surprise him*] omitted Q. 26, 27. *You that . . . leader*] 19-20 *Then cry King Henry with resolved mindes, And breake we presentlie into his tent* Q. 28, 29 *Why, then . . . George*] 21, 22 *Clar. Why then . . . George* Q.

SCENE III

*Enter three . . .*] omitted Q. 1-22 *First Watch. Come on . . . night-foes*] omitted Q.

19-21. *Ulysses Thracian fatal steeds*] Rolfe tells the tale from the tenth book of Homer's *Iliad*. The oracle had declared that Troy could not be taken if the horses of Rhesus once drank of the Xanthus and grazed on the Trojan plains. The Greeks therefore sent Diomedes and Ulysses [manhood and wit] to intercept the Thracian prince when he came to bring help to Priam, and they killed him on the night of his arrival and carried off the horses. It is referred to in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Golding, xiii 122-124, 306-310). And in Virgil's *Aeneid*, i. 469-473. Craig quotes from Marlowe and Nashe's *Drdo*, i. 1 70-73, another reference to this tale. The wording in Golding and Nashe affords no illustration worth quoting. "For other jades of Thrace," see note at *2 Henry VI* iv. 1. 3.

20 *sleight and manhood*] Compare Peele's *Tale of Troy*, 20, 21 (551, a, Dyce) —

"All knights-at-arms, gay, gallant,  
 brave and bold,  
 Of wit and manhood"

22 *night's black mantle*] See *1 Henry VI* ii. ii 2, and note. From *Faerie Queene*, i. i 39 "Whiles sad Night ouer him her mantle black doth spread" 28 *in silent sort*] in silent manner, silently. This was an orthodox use of "sort" before Shakespeare's time. Kyd, for example, hardly uses the word otherwise.

SCENE III.

1. *Enter three Watchmen . . .*] The episode of the Watchmen has no counterpart in Q. Shakespeare may have taken a hint for it from *The Spanish Tragedy*, iii in 16-45 (ed Boas). There is a remarkable similarity in the positions, and several expressions there are used by Shakespeare. Kyd has three Watchmen set in the King's own name, with a result in view of great importance to the working of the plot. There is a struggle with the watch, and the required event takes place, an important prisoner being captured in both cases.

1. *each man take his stand*] "Heere

*Second Watch* What<sup>1</sup> will he not to bed?

*First Watch* Why, no, for he hath made a solemn vow

Never to lie and take his natural rest

5

Till Warwick or himself be quite suppress'd

*Second Watch* To-morrow then belike shall be the day,

If Warwick be so near as men report

*Third Watch* But say, I pray, what nobleman is that

That with the king here resteth in his tent?

10

*First Watch.* 'Tis the Lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend

*Third Watch.* O! is it so? But why commands the king

That his chief followers lodge in towns about him,

While he himself keeps in the cold field?

*Second Watch.* 'Tis the more honour, because more dangerous.

15

*Third Watch* Ay, but give me worship and quietness,

I like it better than a dangerous honour

If Warwick knew in what estate he stands,

'Tis to be doubted he would waken him

*First Watch* Unless our halberds did shut up his passage

20

*Second Watch* Ay, wherefore else guard we his royal tent,

But to defend his person from night-foes?

therefore will I stay and take my stand"  
(*Spanish Tragedy*, III III 16). This line opens the Watchmen's scene in Kyd's play, though not spoken by one of them.

13 lodge] lie, sleep See 2 *Henry VI.* I 1 80, and above, I 1 32 Compare Peele, "*Lodge* with the common soldiers in the field" (*David and Bethsabe*, ix 109 (477, b))

13, 14 lodge in towns . While field?] reversing the usual complaint, as spoken by the First Sentinel, *I Henry VI.* II 1 5-7 —

"poor servitors,

When others sleep upon their quiet beds,

Constrained to watch in darkness, rain and cold"

15 the more honour dangerous] An old sentiment. It is in Fuller's *Gnomologia*, 1732 And in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Rule a Wife*, etc. (Act IV 1 42) —

"I remember'd your old Roman axiom,

The more the danger, still the more the honour"

And again in *Woman Pleas'd*, III II.

16 worship] ease and dignity, attendance The Third Watchman's opinion coincides with Falstaff's and Steevens' remarks Compare Caxton's *Reynard the Fox* (Arber, p 12), 1481 "And tho thought reynart in hym self how he myght best brynge the beere in charge and nede, and that he abode in worship" And see Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, Part II. iv 1 (61, a) —

"Take you the honour I will take my ease,

My wisdom shall excuse my cowardice"

20 halberds] battle-axes on long poles Again in *Richard III.* I. II 40 and *Comedy of Errors* May be used here of the bearers of them, halberdiers, as in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III 1 30 "Enter Alexandro with a noble man and Halberts," but I believe it simply refers to the weapons of the Watch Kyd has "halberdiers" three times in his play

*Enter WARWICK, CLARENCE, OXFORD, SOMERSET, and Forces*

*War* This is his tent, and see where stand his guard.

Courage, my masters! honour now or never!

But follow me, and Edward shall be ours 25

*First Watch* Who goes there?

*Second Watch* Stay, or thou diest

[*Warwick and the rest cry all, "Warwick! Warwick!" and set upon the Guard, who fly, crying, "Arm! Arm!" Warwick and the rest following them*

*The drum playing and trumpet sounding, re-enter WARWICK, SOMERSET, and the rest bringing the KING out in his gown, sitting in a chair. GLOUCESTER and HASTINGS fly over the stage*

*Som* What are they that fly there?

*War* Richard and Hastings let them go, here is

The duke.

30

*K Edw* The duke! Why, Warwick, when we parted

Thou call'dst me king!

*War*

Ay, but the case is alter'd

When you disgraced me in my embassy,

23-25 *War* This is . . . where . . . stand . . . my . . . honour now . . .  
me ours] 23-26 *War* This is . . . where his guard doth stand . . . my  
souldiers, now . . . me now . . . ours All *A Warwike, a Warwike* Q 26  
*First Watch* Who goes there? 27 *Alarmer, and Gloster and Hastings flies* Oxf.  
who goes there? Q 27 *Second Watch* Stay diest] omitted Q. *War-*  
*wick and . . . The drum . . . over the stage*] Ff, omitted Q (except as at l. 27).  
28 *Som* What . . . ] omitted Q 29-32 *Richard parted . . . alter'd*]  
28-31 *Richard . . . parted last . . . altered now* Q 33-41 *When you . . .*  
*embassade degraded come now know not . . . Nor how . . .*

24 *now or never*] See 2 *Henry VI*  
III i 331, and note Occurs in Kyd's  
*Spanish Tragedy*, in the Watchmen's  
scene "Now, Pedringano, or never  
play the man" (l. 29) And a little  
below (III iv 78, 79, Boas' ed.) —

"Now stands our fortune on a tickle  
point,

And now or neuer ends Lorenzo's  
doubts"

For the first line here, see 2 *Henry VI*  
I i 216

31 *parted*] Capell inserted "last"  
from Q, which Malone confidently says  
was "inadvertently omitted in the  
Folio" It is much better out of it

32. *the case is alter'd*] A common  
saying, but not again in Shakespeare  
It is in Greene's *Perimedes* (Grosart,

vii 45), 1588, and *James the Fourth* by  
the same writer, in Sir J. Harington's  
*Orlando Furioso* (iv 18), 1591, in G.  
Harvey's *Four Letters* (Grosart, i 185),  
1592, in Dekker, Ben Jonson, etc.  
The earliest example I have met is in G.  
Whetston's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part  
I v iv 1578 —

"A Syr, in fayth the case is altered  
quight,

My mistris late that lived in  
wretched plight

Bids care adue"

33 *embassade*] embassy Not again  
in Shakespeare The word is that  
used by Hall, of this occurrence See  
extract from his Chronicle at the begin-  
ning of III i, above It is found a little  
later again in Hall (ii 278)

Then I degraded you from being king,  
 And come now to create you Duke of York. 35  
 Alas! how should you govern any kingdom,  
 That know not how to use ambassadors,  
 Nor how to be contented with one wife,  
 Nor how to use your brothers brotherly,  
 Nor how to study for the people's welfare, 40  
 Nor how to shroud yourself from enemies?

*K. Edw* Yea, brother of Clarence, art thou here too?

Nay, then I see that Edward needs must down  
 Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance,  
 Of thee thyself and all thy complices, 45  
 Edward will always bear himself as king.  
 Though fortune's malice overthrow my state,  
 My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel

*War* Then, for his mind, be Edward England's king!

[*Takes off his crown*]

But Henry now shall wear the English crown, 50  
 And be true king indeed, thou but the shadow  
 My Lord of Somerset, at my request,  
 See that forthwith Duke Edward be convey'd  
 Unto my brother, Archbishop of York  
 When I have fought with Pembroke and his fellows 55

*enemies*] 32-38 *When you . . . embassy . . . disgraste . . . now am come knowes not . . . Nor how to use . . . Nor how to shroud . . . enemies* Q (38 and 40, lines ending *wife, welfare*, omitted Q) 42, 43 *Yea, brother down*] omitted Q 44-48 *Yet, Warwick her wheel*] 39-40 *Edw. Well Warwick, let fortune do her worst, Edward in mind will beare himselfe a King* Q 49, 50. *Then, for . . . crown*] 41-42 *Then for . . . crowne* Q 51, 52 *And be . . . request*] omitted Q. 53-58 *See that . . . Now, for a . . . York*] 43-46. *Go conuaise him to our brother archbishop of Yorke, And when*

45 *complices*] See Part II v 1 212 Also twice in *Richard II.*

54 *Unto my brother, Archbishop of York*] to Middleham Castle in Yorkshire See Hall, quoted above, iv ii 12-24

55 *fought with Pembroke*] See above, iv i 130, 131, where Hall is quoted in this connection. The meeting between Pembroke's and Warwick's forces preceded the capture of King Edward in Hall's narration. "When these two Lordes [Pembroke and Stafford] were met at Cottisold . . . they were ascertained by their explorators that ther [the Northren men] were passyng towarde Northampton, wher-upon . . . they couertly espied them passe forward, and sodainely set on the

rerewarde but the Northren men with such agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshemen wer clene discomfited" (Hall, p 273) Warwick was not present in person. Another engagement immediately afterwards resulted in "a great slaughter of Welshemen" and Pembroke was taken and beheaded at Banbury. He had been deserted by Stafford, for which the king caused the latter "found hyd in a village in Brentmarche" to be "brought to Bridgewater, and ther cut shorter by the hedde" "This was the order, manner and end of Banbury Field, fought the morrow after St James' day, in the viii yere of King Edward . . . a con-

I'll follow you, and tell what answer  
 Lewis and the Lady Bona send to him.  
 Now, for a while farewell, good Duke of York.

*K Edw* What fates impose, that men must needs abide  
 It boots not to resist both wind and tide 60  
*[They lead him out forcibly.]*

*Oxf* What now remains, my lords, for us to do  
 But march to London with our soldiers?

*War.* Ay, that's the first thing that we have to do;  
 To free King Henry from imprisonment,  
 And see him seated in the regal throne. 65  
*[Exeunt]*

SCENE IV.—*London The palace*

*Enter Queen ELIZABETH and RIVERS*

*Riv.* Madam, what makes you in this sudden change?

*Q. Eliz.* Why, brother Rivers, are you yet to learn  
 What late misfortune is befall'n King Edward?

*Riv* What<sup>1</sup> loss of some pitch'd battle against Warwick?

*Q Eliz* No, but the loss of his own royal person. 5

*I have fought with Pembroke & his followers, Ile come and tell thee what the  
 ladie Bona saies, And so for a . . . Yorke. Exeunt some with Edward Q 61,  
 62 Oxf What . . . soldiers] 47-50 Cla What followes now all hithertoo goes  
 well, But we must dispatch some letters to France, To tell the Queene of our  
 happy fortune And bid hir come with speed to ioine with vs Q 63-65. Ay,  
 that's . . . To free . . . in the throne] 51-55 I thats . . . And free . . .  
 in his regale throne, Come let us haste awate, and hauning past these cares, Ile  
 post to Yorke, and see how Edward fares Exeunt Omnes Q*

SCENE IV.

SCENES IV. and V. transposed in Q 1. Madam . . . change] 1, 2 Tel me  
 good maddam, why is your grace So passionate of late? Q 2, 3 Why . . .  
 are you . . . Edward] 3, 4 Why . . . heare you not the newes, Of that succeſſe  
 King Edward had of late? Q 4 What . . . Warwick] 5 What . . .  
 Warwike Q 5-12 Q Eliz No, but . . . our foe] 9-14 Queen. If that were  
 all, my griefes were at an end But greater troubles will I feare befall Riv.  
 What, is he taken prisioner by the foe, To the danger of his royall person then?

tinual grudge between the Northren- line numbers in transferred passages  
 men and the Welshmen" (pp 274, has occurred several times)  
 275) This is the last of Pembroke and  
 Stafford.

SCENE IV.

61, 62 *Letters to France, To tell the*  
*Queen]* Omitted here, with the rest of  
 Clarence's speech in Q Clarence's  
 remark about sending despatches to  
 France, would be properly included, on  
 account of lines 235, 236 in III III But  
 these lines are made use of by Henry  
 at IV. VI. 60, 61 (this odd identity of  
 4 *pitch'd battle]* Not again in Shake-  
 speare See "pitch our battle," below,  
 v iv 66, and see note at "sharp  
 stakes . . . pitched" (*I Henry VI* I.  
 i 118). The line here implies a knowl-  
 edge of the reverses to Pembroke and  
 Stafford dealt with above.

*Riv* Then is my sovereign slain?

*Q Eliz* Ay, almost slain, for he is taken prisoner;  
 Either betray'd by falsehood of his guard,  
 Or by his foe surprised at unawares  
 And, as I further have to understand, 10  
 Is new committed to the Bishop of York,  
 Fell Warwick's brother, and by that our foe

*Riv* These news I must confess are full of grief,  
 Yet, gracious madam, bear it as you may  
 Warwick may lose, that now hath won the day. 15

*Q Eliz* Till then fair hope must hinder life's decay  
 And I the rather wean me from despair  
 For love of Edward's offspring in my womb.  
 This is it that makes me bridle passion,  
 And bear with mildness my misfortune's cross; 20  
 Ay, ay, for this I draw in many a tear,  
 And stop the rising of blood-sucking sighs,  
 Lest with my sighs or tears I blast or drown  
 King Edward's fruit, true heir to the English crown

*Riv* But, madam, where is Warwick then become? 25

*Q Eliz* I am informed that he comes towards London,  
 To set the crown once more on Henry's head

*Queen.* I, hears my grieve King Edward is surprisde, And led awate, as prisnor  
 unto Yorke *Q* 13-15 *Riv.* These news . . . the day] 15-18 and 6-8 *Riv* The  
 newes is passing strange, I must confesse Yet comfort your selfe, for Edward  
 hath more friends, Then Lancaster at this time must perceue That some will set  
 him in his throne againe (6-8 *Riv*) Tush, feare not faire Queene, but cast those  
 cares aside, King Edwards noble mind his honours doth display And Warwicke  
 mare loose, though then he got the day *Q* 16-35 *Q Eliz* Till then sure  
 to die] 19-22 *Queen* God grant they mare, but gentle brother come, And let me  
 leane vpon thine arme a while, Vntil I come vnto the sanctuarie (cf. 1 31) There  
 to preserue the frut within my wombe (cf. 1 18) *K Edwards* seed true heire  
 to Englands crowne (cf. 1 24) *Exit Q.*

15. won the day] altered from "got  
 the day" (not used by Shakespeare).  
 See 1 *Henry VI* i vi 17, and  
*Richard III* v iii 145 Peele has  
 "bear away the day" in *The Tale of*  
*Troy*, 293 (555, a).

19 *bridle*] restrain See 2 *Henry*  
*VI* i 1 200 and iv vii 112 Also in  
*Comedy of Errors*

22 *blood-sucking sighs*] See note at  
 "blood-drinking sighs" (2 *Henry VI*  
 iii ii 63), and "blood-consuming  
 sighs" (2 *Henry VI* iii ii 61). Compare  
 "a spendthrift sigh" (*Hamlet*,  
 iv. vii 123), and "with sighs of love  
 that cost the fresh blood dear" (*Mid-*

*summer Night's Dream*, iii ii. 97).  
 Craig writes it was formerly believed  
 that each sigh took a drop of blood  
 from the heart I have not found  
 confirmation of this pathetic pathology.  
 Not in Burton. The idea is extant in  
 folklore A Yorkshire lady tells me she  
 is familiar with the belief that "every  
 sigh costs a drop of blood," and also  
 that the belief holds good in Scotland in  
 several places.

23 *blast*] blight, wither, destroy.  
 See 2 *Henry VI* iii. i. 89, and below,  
 v. vii 21

25. *where is . . . become*] See note  
 at this construction, II. i. 10 above.

Guess thou the rest, King Edward's friends must down  
 But to prevent the tyrant's violence,—  
 For trust not him that hath once broken faith,— 30  
 I'll hence forthwith unto the sanctuary,  
 To save at least the heir of Edward's right  
 There shall I rest secure from force and fraud.  
 Come, therefore, let us fly while we may fly ·  
 If Warwick take us we are sure to die 35

[*Exeunt*]

SCENE V — *A park near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire.*

*Enter* GLOUCESTER, Lord HASTINGS, Sir WILLIAM STANLEY,  
*and others*

*Glou.* Now, my Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley,  
 Leave off to wonder why I drew you hither,  
 Into this chiefest thicket of the park.  
 Thus stands the case You know our king, my brother,

SCENES V. and IV. transposed in Q 113. *Enter . . . Glou Now . . . captivity*] 1-9 *Enter* Gloster, Hastings, and Sir William Stanley *Glo* Lord Hastings and Sir William Stanley, Know that the cause I sent for you is this I looke my brother with a slender trame, Should come a hunting in this forrest heere. The Bishop of Yorke befriends him much, And lets him vse his pleasure in the chase, Now I haue prouide sent him word, How I am come with you to rescue him And see where the huntsman and he doth come Q

31. *I'll . . . unto the sanctuary*] Much has happened, and a year elapsed before this takes place, since the king's capture "innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke [after Edward's escape and flight] to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly looking . . . to hear of his . . . prosperous return. Emongst other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, allmoste desperate of all comfort, took sentuary at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all her frendes was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edward [Edward the V. borne in sentuary], the god-mother the lady Scrope" (p 285)

SCENE V] This scene precedes the last in Q, which gives time for the queen's accouchement, and for the news of the king's capture to reach her. But the present arrangement enables this scene to fit in with the subsequent trend of events more homogeneously. For the placing of this scene, see excerpt from

Hall at iv n. 12-24 above. Immediately follows (p 275) the account of the escape "Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other keepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers days to go on huntynge, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frendes with suche a great band of men, that neither his keepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn" King Edward then "went streight to York, where he was with grete honor receyued . . . from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lord Hastynge hys chamberlayne, well accompanied He then . . . came safe to the cytye of London" (p. 276).

4. *Thus stands the case*] See *Cymbeline*, i v. 67, and in Greene's hobbling manner "Especially as now the case doth stand" (*Alphonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 347))

Is prisoner to the bishop here, at whose hands 5  
 He hath good usage and great liberty,  
 And often but attended with weak guard,  
 Comes hunting this way to disport himself  
 I have advertis'd him by secret means  
 That if about this hour he make this way, 10  
 Under the colour of his usual game,  
 He shall here find his friends with horse and men  
 To set him free from his captivity

*Enter King EDWARD and a Huntsman with him*

*Hunt* This way, my lord, for this way lies the game.

*K. Edw.* Nay, this way, man see where the huntsmen stand. 15

Now, brother of Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and the rest,  
 Stand you thus close, to steal the bishop's deer?

*Glou* Brother, the time and case requireth haste  
 Your horse stands ready at the park corner

*K. Edw.* But whither shall we then? 20

*Hast* To Lynn, my lord;

And ship from thence to Flanders.

*Glou* Well guess'd, believe me; for that was my meaning

*K. Edw.* Stanley, I will requite thy forwardness

*Glou.* But wherefore stay we? 'tis no time to talk. 25

*K. Edw.* Huntsman, what say'st thou? wilt thou go along?

14-17. *Enter . . . Hunt This way . . . deer* 10-13. *Enter Edward and Huntsman Hunts This ware my Lord the deere is gone Edw No this ware huntsman, see where the Keepers stand Now brother and the rest, What, are you prouded to depart?* Q 18-30. *Glou Brother . . . crown* 14-23 *Glo. I, I, the horse stands at the parke corner, Come, to Lynne, and so take shipping into Flanders. Edw. Come then, Hastings and Stanley, I will Requite your loues Bishop farewell, sheeld thee from Warwikes frowne, And . . . crowne*

21 *To Lynn* The battle of Loscote field, ending in a victory for Edward, the flight of Warwick and Clarence to France and their favourable reception by the French king Lewis, the intriguing of the Duke of Burgundy, the triumphant landing of Warwick on his return and his Proclamation in the name of Henry the VI., all take up space and time, until King Edward is "much abashed at these tydings . . . his nere frendes adused and admonished him to flye ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne . . . the erle of Warwyckes power was within a halfe dayes iorney [the king having 'departed' into Lyncolnshyre] . . . with all hast pos-

sible passed the wasshes and came to the toune of Lynne, where he found an English ship and 11 Hulkes of Holland . . . wherupon, he . . . with his brother the duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, and diuers other his trusty frendes, entered into the ship, without bag or baggage . . . and small store of money, sailed toward Holland" "This was in the yere M.C.lxx. and in the ix yere of Kyng Edward" (Hall, 283) Shakespeare has amalgamated Edward's two flights into one whole. He attaches Hastings to him throughout, for which there is no authority See below, vi. 78-82.



*Hunt.* Better do so than tarry and be hang'd  
*Glou* Come then, away, let's ha' no more ado  
*K Edw* Bishop, farewell: shield thee from Warwick's frown,  
 And pray that I may repossess the crown. 30  
*[Exeunt.]*

## SCENE VI—London The Tower

*Flourish.* Enter King HENRY, CLARENCE, WARWICK,  
 SOMERSET, young RICHMOND, OXFORD, MONTAGUE, and  
 Lieutenant of the Tower

*K Hen* Master lieutenant, now that God and friends  
 Have shaken Edward from the regal seat,

(last line) *Now huntsman what will you doe? Hunts* Marrie my Lorde, I thinke  
*I had as good Goe with you, as tarrie heere to be hangde. Edw* Come then lets  
*awake with speed Exeunt Omnes Q*

## SCENE VI

SCENES VI and VII transposed in Q Enter . . . Ff (nearly), Cambridge;  
*Enter Warwicke and Clarence, with the Crowne, and then King Henry, and Ox-*  
*ford, and Summerset, and the yong Earle of Richmond Q* 1-4 *K Hen*  
*Master . . . joys] 1, 2 King Thus from the prison to this princelie seat, By*  
*Gods great mercies am I brought Againe Q*

27 *Better* *hang'd]* Marlowe  
 may have remembered this line in *Ed-*  
*ward II.* (Dyce, 211, b) "As good be  
 gone, as stay and be benighted"

30. *repossess the crown]* repeated be-  
 low, iv. vi 99 and v. vii. 19 It seems  
 to occur in Q only in the last passage

## SCENE VI

1 Enter King Henry, Clarence, War-  
 wick . . .] This scene is placed after  
 Scene vii. (the return of Edward to  
 Ravenspur) in Q, following immediately  
 upon the Queen's taking sanctuary In  
 the present play, see back to the end of  
 Scene iii. (Warwick's last words there)  
 for the chain of events In Hall the  
 release of Henry follows immediately  
 upon the account of the birth of Edward  
 the V. in sanctuary, (p 285), and is thus  
 told "the xxv daye of the sayd moneth  
 (October), the duke of Clarence accom-  
 panied with the Erles of Warwycke,  
 Shrewsbury, and the lorde Stanley, and  
 other . . . some onely to gase at the  
 waueryng world, resorted with a greate  
 company to the towre of London, &  
 from thence with great pompe brought  
 Kynge Henry the VI appared in a  
 longe gowne of blew velvet, through the  
 high streetes of London, to the cathed-  
 ral church of Saint Paule . . . Kyng

Henry the VI thus readepted (by the  
 meanes onely of the erle of Warwycke)  
 his crowne and dignitie Royall in the  
 yere of oure lorde 1471 . . . he called  
 his high court of Parliament to begin  
 ye xxvi day of Nouember at West-  
 minster, in the whiche King Edward  
 was declared a traitor to his countrey  
 . . & all his goodes were confiscate  
 & adiudged forfayted & like sen-  
 tence was geuen agaynst all his par-  
 takers . . . Beside this, the erle of  
 Warwycke . . . was made Ruler, &  
 Governor of the Realme, with whom . . .  
 was associated, George duke of Clarence  
 his sonne-in-law" (286) In this  
 passage, King Henry is said to be "a  
 man of no great wit, such as men  
 comonly call an Innocent man, neither  
 a foole, neither very wyse, whose study  
 always was more to excell in  
 Godly luyng, then in worldly regim-  
 ent . . . But his enemies ascribed al  
 this to his coward stommach"

In the same parliament the crown of  
 England and France was "entayled to  
 King Henry the VI & the heyres  
 males of his body lawfully begotten,  
 & for default . . . to George, duke  
 of Clarence, & to the heyres males of  
 his bodye"

This scene of 100 lines replaces one

- And turn'd my captive state to liberty,  
 My fear to hope, my sorrows unto joys,  
 At our enlargement what are thy due fees? 5
- Lieu* Subjects may challenge nothing of their sovereigns;  
 But if an humble prayer may prevail,  
 I then crave pardon of your majesty.
- K. Hen* For what, lieutenant? for well using me?  
 Nay, be thou sure I'll well requite thy kindness, 10  
 For that it made my imprisonment a pleasure,  
 Ay, such a pleasure as incaged birds  
 Conceive, when after many moody thoughts  
 At last by notes of household harmony  
 They quite forget their loss of liberty 15  
 But, Warwick, after God, thou sett'st me free,  
 And chiefly therefore I thank God and thee,  
 He was the author, thou the instrument  
 Therefore, that I may conquer fortune's spite  
 By living low, where fortune cannot hurt me, 20  
 And that the people of this blessed land  
 May not be punish'd with my thwarting stars,  
 Warwick, although my head still wear the crown,  
 I here resign my government to thee,  
 For thou art fortunate in all thy deeds 25
- War.* Your grace hath still been fam'd for virtuous,  
 And now may seem as wise as virtuous,  
 By spying and avoiding fortune's malice,  
 For few men rightly temper with the stars  
 Yet in this one thing let me blame your grace, 30

5-37 *At our enlargement* . *Clarence only for protector*] omitted Q

of 25 in Q, of which it is a legitimate development with one or two important additions, such as Henry's entreaty for his wife and son to be sent for, and the news (to Warwick) of Edward's escape and flight to Burgundy. These are not in Q. Also the deleting of repetition words close together (princely, pretty), as usual, may be noticed, and that tiresome "replete with" is finally dropped, "full of" being read (l 70)

12 *incaged*] The word occurs, in metaphoric use, twice in Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis* and *Richard II*. Cage birds for singing are mentioned again in *Cymbeline*, III iii 43, and in *King Lear*, v. iii 9. A love for the songs of birds is very marked in Shake-

speare. Note, also, the frequent mention of snares, limed twigs, and the fowler's art.

19 *fortune's spite*] Again in Sonnets 37 and 90 "*Fortune's spite* and malice" (Peele, *A Tale of Troy*, 558, a). "*Fortune's malice*" occurs nine lines down. These Peele coincidences were collected when I thought he had a hand in this play, but that idea was a hasty one. See also iv iv 46 above, for "*fortune's malice*"

29 *temper with the stars*] A bold and thoroughly Shakespearian expression with a back reference to "thwarting stars," above (22). Warwick means few men adapt themselves to the spite and malice of Fortune

For choosing me when Clarence is in place.

*Clar.* No, Warwick, thou art worthy of the sway,  
To whom the heavens in thy nativity  
Adjudget an olive branch and laurel crown,  
As likely to be blest in peace and war ; 35  
And therefore I yield thee my free consent

*War.* And I choose Clarence only for protector

*K. Hen.* Warwick and Clarence givè me both your hands :  
Now join your hands, and with your hands your hearts,  
That no dissension hinder government . 40  
I make you both protectors of this land,  
While I myself will lead a private life,  
And in devotion spend my latter days,  
To sin's rebuke and my Creator's praise.

*War.* What answers Clarence to his sovereign's will ? 45

*Clar.* That he consents, if Warwick yield consent ;  
For on thy fortune I repose myself.

*War.* Why then, though loath, yet must I be content  
We'll yoke together, like a double shadow  
To Henry's body, and supply his place ; 50  
I mean, in bearing weight of government,  
While he enjoys the honour and his ease  
And, Clarence, now then it is more than needful  
Forthwith that Edward be pronounced a traitor,  
And all his lands and goods be confiscate. 55

*Clar.* What else ? and that succession be determin'd

*War.* Ay, therein Clarence shall not want his part

*K. Hen.* But, with the first of all your chief affairs,  
Let me entreat, for I command no more,  
That Margaret your queen and my son Edward 60

38-44. *Warwick and Clarence . Creator's praise*] 33-7 *Clarence, and Warwick doe you Keepe the croune, and gouverne and protect My realme in peace, and I will spend the Remnant of my daies to sunnes . . . praise Q. 45 What . . . will ?* 8. *what . will ? Q. 46, 47. That he . myself*] 9. *Clarence agrees to what King Henry likes Q. 48-64. Why then, though loath . . . with all speed*] omitted Q.

31. *in place*] See above, iv. 1. 103.

43. *latter days*] last days A frequent use in Shakespeare Compare Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, 1543, p 544, rept "his conscience pricked with the sharpe styng of his mischeuous offences, which although they dooe not picke alwaye, yet most comenly they wil byte moste towarde he latter day."

49. *yoke together*] See above, iv. i 23.

51. *I mean*] See below, v iii 7, and above, iii ii. 58

54, 55, 56 *traitor, confiscate, succession*] See Hall's words at the opening extract to this scene. The insertion of "be" before "confiscate," omitted in the first Folio, is due to Malone. "Confiscated" is in Ff 2, 3, 4.

60, 61. *That Margaret . . . with*

Be sent for, to return from France with speed ·  
 For, till I see them here, by doubtful fear  
 My joy of liberty is half eclips'd

*Clar* It shall be done, my sovereign, with all speed.

*K. Hen* My Lord of Somerset, what youth is that 65  
 Of whom you seem to have so tender care?

*Som* My liege, it is young Henry, Earl of Richmond.

*K. Hen.* Come hither, England's hope.

[*Lays his hand on his head*  
 If secret powers

Suggest but truth to my divining thoughts,  
 This pretty lad will prove our country's bliss. 70  
 His looks are full of peaceful majesty,  
 His head by nature fram'd to wear a crown,  
 His hand to wield a sceptre, and himself

65-67 *My Lord . . youth . . liege, it . . Richmond* 10-13. *My lord . . . pretty Bote is that you seeme to be so carefull of? Sum And it please your grace, it . . Richmond Q 68-76 Come hither . . Make much . . Must help . . by me* 14-22 *Henry of Richmond, come hither pretie ladde If heavenly powers doe aime aright To my diuining thoughts, thou pretie boy, Shalt proue this Countreys blisse, Thy head is made to weare a princelie crowne, Thy lookes are all repleat with Maestie, Make much . . . shall helpe . . by me Q.*

*speed*] These lines account for the omission of Clarence's (in Q) at IV. iii. 61 (see note).

63 *joy . . . eclips'd*] So Greene, *Orlando Furioso* (Grosart, xiii 170) —

"That wanton maide, that hath  
 eclips'd the joy  
 Of royall France"

A little of his minor plumage.

67. *young Henry*] Afterwards Henry VII. This anecdote is from Hall (copied as usual into Grafton and Holinshed): "lord Henry, sonne to his [Pembroke's] brother Edmund erle of Richmond, hauyng not fully ten yerres of his age, was . . . brought vp, by the Lady Herbert, wyfe to Willyam erle of Pembroke, beheded at Banbury . . . sent from God, and of hym onely to be prouided for a Kyng, for to extinguish bothe the factions. . . . This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely daughter and heire to Ihon the first Duke of Somerset. . . . Iasper erle of Pembroke toke this child beyng his nephew . . . to London, to Kyng Henry the sixte, whom, when the Kyng had a good space by himselfe, secretly beholden and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes, he said to suche princes, as were then with hym. Lo

surely this is he, to whom both wee and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all things, shall hereafter geue rome and place So this holy man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this erle Henry so ordeined by God, should in tyme become (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme" (287).

69 *diuining thoughts*] Compare "divining eyes" (Sonnet 106); and "true-divining heart" (*Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 214)

71 *His . . majesty*] The line in Q here is identical (reading *Thy for His*) with the Q line at III. ii. 84. The dropping of "repleat with" sufficed here, because "majesty" was changed to "modesty" there

73 *wield a sceptre*] carry or bear the sceptre. A favourite use of the verb but not so common as "sway." Spenser has it in *Faerie Queene*, II. xi. 2: "her that ought the sceptre weeld" Spenser has it of the crown in the previous Canto, II. x. 32, and "weld the awful crown" (*Shepherd's Calender*, October (Globe, 477, a), 1579), and in *Colin Clout*, 130. Greene seized on it. Kyd, in the *Spanish Tragedy*, "I tooke him up and

Likely in time to bless a regal throne  
 Make much of him, my lords, for this is he 75  
 Must help you more than you are hurt by me.

*Enter a Post.*

*War* What news, my friend?

*Post* That Edward is escaped from your brother,  
 And fled, as he hears since, to Burgundy

*War.* Unsavoury news! but how, made he escape? 80

*Post* He was convey'd by Richard Duke of Gloucester  
 And the Lord Hastings, who attended him  
 In secret ambush on the forest side,  
 And from the bishop's huntsmen rescued him,  
 For hunting was his daily exercise 85

*War* My brother was too careless of his charge  
 But let us hence, my sovereign, to provide  
 A salve for any sore that may betide

*[Exeunt all but Somerset, Richmond, and Oxford.]*

*Som* My lord, I like not of this flight of Edward's;  
 For doubtless Burgundy will yield him help, 90  
 And we shall have more wars before 't be long  
 As Henry's late presaging prophecy  
 Did glod my heart with hope of this young Richmond,  
 So doth my heart misgive me, in these conflicts

77-102. *What news . . . about it speedily*] omitted Q

wound him in mine armes, And welding him into my private tent there laid him down" (i. iv 35), affords an uncommon use.

75. *Make much of him*] Frequent later in Shakespeare. See Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part I. ii. "*Make much of them, gentle Theridamas*" (Dyce, 12, b). And in Grafton's *Continuation of Hardyng*, p 563 "*Hadrian . . . taried here in England for a space, and was veray much made of*"

77. *Enter a Post*] In the corresponding situation, immediately after "*hurt by me,*" in Q occurs, "*Enter one with a letter to Warwike,*" and Scene viii begins with Warwick's speech announcing Edward's return from instead of his departure, as here, to Burgundy

78, 79 *Edward is escaped* *Burgundy*] Here the dramatist ties the two flights together unmistakably. See iv v. 21 (note)

82. *attended him*] waited for him. The commonest sense in Shakespeare

88 *A salve for any sore* . . .] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III. ii 36 —

"and though no reason may apply

*Salve to your sore, yet loue can higher stye*"

And again, *Shepherd's Calender*, August (Globe ed. 471, a) "*Ne can I find salve for my sore Willie Love is a curelesse sorrowe*" (1579). Todd quotes from Lydgate, and from Surrey's *Songs and Sonnets* Greene uses the phrase *ad nauseam*. Not again in Shakespeare. Sidney has it in *Arcadia*, Book i And see Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I ii 1 "*marniage salves his sore*" (amends his error), 1578.

90 *Burgundy will yield him help*] See below, vii 6

94 *So doth my heart misgive me*]

What may befall him to his harm and ours 95  
 Therefore, Lord Oxford, to prevent the worst,  
 Forthwith we'll send him hence to Brittany,  
 Till storms be past of civil enmity.

*Oxf* Ay, for if Edward repossess the crown,  
 'Tis like that Richmond with the rest shall down 100  
*Som.* It shall be so, he shall to Brittany.

Come, therefore, let's about it speedily. [*Exeunt*]

SCENE VII.—*Before York*

*Flourish* Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, HASTINGS,  
 and Soldiers

*K. Edw* Now, brother Richard, Lord Hastings, and the rest,  
 Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,  
 And says that once more I shall interchange  
 My waned state for Henry's regal crown.  
 Well have we pass'd, and now repass'd the seas, 5  
 And brought desired help from Burgundy :  
 What then remains, we being thus arrived  
 From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,

SCENE VII Enter . . .] Ff; Enter Edward and Richard, and Hastings with  
 a troope of Hollanders Q. 1-7 Now, brother . . . remains] omitted Q.  
 7½-10. we being thus . . . this] 1-3. Edw. Thus far from Belgia haue we past  
 the seas, And marcht from Raunspur hauen unto Yorke But soft the gates are  
 shut, I . . . this Q.

Compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v.  
 v. 226. "my heart misgives me."

97. we'll send him hence to Brittany]  
 "When Iasper erle of Pembroke was  
 credibly asserteyned that quene Mar-  
 garete had lost the battayle at Tewkes-  
 burye, and that there was no more . .  
 reliefe to be had for the parte of poore  
 Kyng Henry . . The erle in good  
 hast departed to Pembroke . thence  
 to Tynbye a hauen toune in Wales,  
 where he getting conuenient shyppes  
 for to transport hym and hys ouer the  
 sea into Fraunce with hys nephew lord  
 Henry erle of Rychemounde, and a few  
 of his familiers toke ship, and by for-  
 tunes leadyng, landed in Brytayne"  
 (Hall, pp. 302, 303).

SCENE VII.

4. waned] Occurs again in *Antony  
 and Cleopatra*, II. i 21 Ff read  
 "waned" Steevens made the change.

5. pass'd, and now repass'd] Golding

has this expression "shyppes may  
 passe And repasse saufly" (Ovid's  
*Metamorphoses*, XIII. 908, 909) It is in  
*Lochrue*.

6 *help from Burgundy*] The Quarto  
 tells "with a troop of Hollanders," as  
 below, VIII. 2. Hall says (p. 290)  
 "when the duke saw that Kyng Eduard  
 upon hope of his frendes, would nedes  
 reparaire into England again, he caused  
 priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie M  
 Florence, of the crosse of Sancte  
 Andrew, and further caused foure greate  
 shyppes to be appoynted for him . .  
 and xiiij shippes of the Easterlynges,  
 well appointed . . to serue him truly.  
 . . . The Duke of Burgoyne as men  
 reported, cared not much on whose side  
 the victory fell, sauing for paiment of  
 his money . . he was frend to bothe  
 partes and eche parte was frendly to  
 hym."

8 *From Ravenspurgh . . . York*]  
 Hall continues in the tenth year: "Kyng

But that we enter, as into our dukedom ?

*Glou.* The gates made fast ! Brother, I like not this ; 10

For many men that stumble at the threshold

Are well foretold that danger lurks within

*K. Edw.* Tush, man ! abodements must not now affright us

By fair or foul means we must enter in,

For hither will our friends repair to us 15

*Hast.* My liege, I 'll knock once more to summon them

11-15 *For many men . . . repair to us*] omitted Q 16 *Hast. My liege them*] 4. *Rich.* Sound up the drum and call them to the walls Q

Edward beyng thus furnished .  
hauyng with hym onely ii M. men of  
warre beside manners . . . sailed into  
England and came on the cost of Yorke-  
shire, to a place called Rauenspurr .

Kyng Edward beyng a wise and cir-  
cumspecte Prince, would not haue been  
so foolissh hardy, as to enter Eng-  
lande with halfe a handfull of men of  
warre . but that the Duke of Clar-  
ence and he, were secretly agreed be-  
fore, and that the Marques Montacute  
had secretly procured his fauor, of  
which priue signs and cloked work-  
ynges, open tokens and manifest do-  
ynges, afterward appered . . the touns  
round about were permanent and stiffe  
on the part of King Henry . for  
fere of the Erle of Warwycke. Which  
annswer [to his 'light horsemen' who  
felt the people's minds] when Kyng  
Edward had perfectly digested . . he  
caused it to be published that he onely  
claymed the Duchie of Yorke this  
new imaginacion (although it were but  
fayned) sorted and tooke immediately  
. . The erle of Warwycke wrote

to the Marquess of Montacute his  
brother . . . geuyng him warnyng . .  
and he wrote to all the townes of Yorke-  
shyre, and to the cite also commaund-  
yng all men . . to shutte their gates  
 . . Kyng Edward came peacably  
nere to York . . when the citzens  
 . . sendyng to hym two of the chiefest  
Aldermen . . admonished hym not to  
come one foote nearer . . Kyng Ed-  
ward . . . determined to set forwarde,  
neither with army nor with weapon  
but with lowly wordes . . to declare  
to ye citzens that he came to demaunde  
 . . onely the duchie of Yorke his  
olde inheritance And so with fayre  
wordes and flatteryng speche he dis-  
missed the messengers, and . . he  
and his . . were almost at the gates  
as soone as the Ambassadors . .

All the whole day was consumed in  
doutful communicacion and earnest in-  
terlocucion The citzens . . . fell to  
this pact and conuencion that if King  
Edward would swere . . to be fayth-  
full to all Kyng Henrys commaunde-  
ments that then they would receyve him  
into their cite Kyng Edward .  
a priest beyng redy to say masse  
receyuing the body of our blessed  
Savior, solemnly swearyng etc. .  
entered into the cite, and clerely for-  
gettyng his othe, he first set a garri-  
son of soldiars in the town" (Hall,  
290-292) "Stands upon . points"  
is in Greene's *Frar Bacon* (Grosart,  
xiii 12)

9 *But soft*] in Q, omitted here, is  
very common in Shakespeare It is  
found, as well as "soft you!" in  
Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*  
And in Peele and Kyd

11 *stumble at the threshold*] very un-  
lucky See Reginald Scot, *Discovery of*  
*Witchcraft* (Nicholson's reprint, p 164),  
1584 "he that receiveth a mischance  
wil consider whether he met not a cat,  
or a hare, when he first went out of his  
doores in the morning, or *stumbled*  
*not at the threshold* at his going out,"  
etc See Golding's *Ovid*, x 520, 521  
And Grafton's *Continuation of Hard-*  
*ying*, p 496 "Certeyn it is also that in  
ryding . . the same morning . . his  
horsse stumbled with hym twice or  
thryse . . an olde euill token."

13 *abodements*] forebodings, evil  
omens. "Bodements" occurs in *Troilus*  
and *Cressida*, v iii 80 The example  
here is the earliest in *New Eng Dict*  
Craig quotes from Turberville, *Ovid's*  
*Heroical Epistles, Laodamia to Pro-*  
*tesilaus* (1567) —

"Let all *abodements* go I pray  
the windes  
And calmed seas to favour thy  
intent."

*Enter, on the walls, the Mayor of York, and his brethren*

*May.* My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,  
And shut the gates for safety of ourselves,  
For now we owe allegiance unto Henry

*K. Edw.* But, master mayor, if Henry be your king, 20  
Yet Edward at the least is Duke of York

*May.* True, my good lord, I know you for no less

*K. Edw.* Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom,  
As being well content with that alone

*Glou.* [*Aside.*] But when the fox hath once got in his  
nose, 25

He'll soon find means to make the body follow.

*Hast.* Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt?

Open the gates, we are King Henry's friends

*May.* Ay, say you so? the gates shall then be open'd.

[*They descend.*]

*Glou.* A wise stout captain, and soon persuaded! 30

*Hast.* The good old man would fain that all were well,

So, 'twere not long of him, but being enter'd,

I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade

Both him and all his brothers unto reason

*Enter the Mayor and two Aldermen, below*

*K. Edw.* So, master mayor these gates must not be shut 35

17-19 *Enter . May My lords Henry*] 5-8. *Enter the Lord Mavr*  
*of Yorke upon the wals. Mavr. My Lords we had notice of your coming,*  
*And thats the cause we stand upon our garde, And shut the gates for to*  
*preserue the towne Henry now is Kyng, and we are sworne to him Q*  
20, 21. *But . . . mayor, if king, Yet . . . least York*] 9, 10 *Why*  
*my Lord Mavr, if . . . King, Edward I am sure at least . . . Yorke Q.*  
22-29. *True . . . know . . . nothing . . . dukedom But . . . got . . . nose,*  
*He'll . . . follow . . . Open . . . Ay, say . . . open'd*] 9-17. *Truth my Lord,*  
*we know . . . lesse Edw I craue nothing . . . Dukedome Rich But . .*  
*gotten . . . head Heele quicklie make the body follow Hast Why my Lord*  
*Mavr, what stand you upon points? Open . . . Save you so, then Ile open them*  
*presentlie Exit Mavr Q* 30 *Glou A wise . . . persuaded*] 18 *Rt By*  
*my faith, a wise . . . perswaded Q.* 31-34 *Hast The good old . . . reason*  
omitted *Q.* 35-39 *Enter . . . So, master . . . But . . . war . . . follow*

25, 26 *fox . . . nose . . . body follow*] There is a saying like this of a mouse in cheese But I cannot get any nearer. "Give him an inch and he'll take an ell" This is in Q, and like the "threshold passage" above, illustrates Gloucester's addiction to proverbs, as noticed before.

27 *stand you in a doubt*] Q has "stand you upon points," which is transferred to Gloucester below, l 58.

An uncommon expression Nothing to do with the "tickle point" phrase in 2 *Henry VI* i. 1. 216 A variant of terms, "stood in a doubt," occurs in Hall's Chronicle (295), quoted at "well-minded" below

31. *good old man*] Words Shakespeare delighted in They are often in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Book 1.

32 *long of him*] See notes at 1 *Henry VI.* iv iii. 33, 46



But in the night or in the time of war  
 What<sup>1</sup> fear not, man, but yield me up the keys;  
[Takes his keys]  
 For Edward will defend the town and thee,  
 And all those friends that deign to follow me

*March Enter MONTGOMERY and forces*

*Glou* Brother, this is Sir John Montgomery, 40  
 Our trusty friend, unless I be deceiv'd  
*K. Edw* Welcome, Sir John<sup>1</sup> but why come you in arms?  
*Montg* To help King Edward in his time of storm,  
 As every loyal subject ought to do  
*K Edw* Thanks, good Montgomery, but we now forget 45  
 Our title to the crown, and only claim  
 Our dukedom till God please to send the rest  
*Montg* Then fare you well, for I will hence again:  
 I came to serve a king and not a duke.  
 Drummer, strike up, and let us march away 50  
[The drum begins to march]  
*K. Edw* Nay, stay, Sir John, awhile, and we'll debate  
 By what safe means the crown may be recover'd

*me*] 19-22. *The Maire opens the dore, and brings the keies in his hand. Edw*  
*So my Lord . . . But in the time of warre, giue me the keies What, feare*  
*not man for Edward will defend the towne and you, despite of all your foes Q*  
 40-45. *March Enter . . . Glou Brother . . . Our . . . but why . . . his . .*  
*storm . . . good Montgomery]* 23-29 *Enter Sir Iohn Mountgommerly with*  
*drumme and souldiers (Edw) How now Richard, who is this? Rich Brother*  
*. . . A . . . Wherefore . . . this . . . stormes . . . braue Mountgommerly Q*  
 45-47. *but we . . . claime Our . . . rest]* 30, 31 *But I onlie claime my . .*  
*Vntil it please God . . . rest Q* 48-50 *Then . . . well, for . . . I came*  
*. . . duke Drummer . . . away]* 32, 33 *Sir Iohn (and throughout) Then . .*  
*wel? Drum . . . away, I came . . . duke Q (two lines transposed). 51-52.*  
*Nay, . . . recover'd]* 34, 35 *Nay stae Sir Iohn, and let vs first debate, With*  
*what security we maie doe this thing Q*

39 *friends follow me]* Similar to the line above, iv 1 123

40. *Sir [John Montgomery]* After Edward had set his garnison of soldiers in York "he thought it necessarie . . to make haste toward London . . he left the right way toward Pomfret, where the Marques Montagew with his army lay . . and came safely to Nottingham, where came to him syr William Parre . . syr Thomas Montgomerie, and diuers other of his assured frendes . . . whych caused hym at the fyrst conning to make Proclamacion in hys

owne name, Kyng Edward the iij boldely saying to hym, that they would serue no man but a kyng . . This Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor to the hartes of the citizens of Yorke" (292) Shakespeare seems to be purposely forgetful of men's Christian names, his authority here gives Thomas, not John And at the beginning of iii 11 Sir Richard Gray is Sir John Gray in Hall And in Part II. ii 11 13, he has Sir John Stanley where Holinshed gives Sir Thomas

*Montg.* What, talk you of debating ! in few words,  
 If you 'll not here proclaim yourself our king,  
 I 'll leave you to your fortune, and be gone 55  
 To keep them back that come to succour you.  
 Why shall we fight, if you pretend no title ?  
*Glou.* Why, brother, wherefore stand you on nice points ?  
*K. Edw.* When we grow stronger, then we 'll make our claim.  
 Till then, 'tis wisdom to conceal our meaning 60  
*Hast.* And with scrupulous wit ! now arms must rule.  
*Glou.* And fearless minds climb soonest unto crowns.  
 Brother, we will proclaim you out of hand,  
 The bruit thereof will bring you many friends.  
*K. Edw.* Then be it as you will, for 'tis my right, 65  
 And Henry but usurps the diadem  
*Montg.* Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself,  
 And now will I be Edward's champion  
*Hast.* Sound, trumpet ! Edward shall be here proclaim'd.  
 Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation. 70  
 [Gives him a paper. Flourish.  
*Sold.* Edward the Fourth, by the grace of God, King of  
 England and France, and lord of Ireland, etc  
*Montg.* And whosoe'er gainsays King Edward's right,  
 By this I challenge him to single fight  
 [Throws down his gauntlet  
*All.* Long live Edward the Fourth ! 75

53-57 *What, . . . proclaim . . . king, I 'll . . . keep . . . shall we . . . if . . . title*] 36-40 *What stand you on debating, to be briefe, Except you presently proclaime . . . King, Ile hence againe, and keepe . . . should we fight when You . . . title ?* Q 58. *Why . . . points ?*] 41, 42 *Wie brother, fie, stand you upon tearmes ? Resolue your selfe, and let us claime the crowne* Q. 59-64 *When we . . . many friends*] omitted Q. 65, 66 *Then be it . . . diadem*] 43, 44 *I am resolute once more to claime the crowne, And win it too, or else to loose my life* Q. 67, 68 *Montg Ay, . . . champion* Q 45, 46 *Sir Iohn I . . . champion* Q 69-75 *Hast Sound . . . Fourth !*] 47-52 (*Mont*) *Sound Trumpets, for Edward shall be proclaimd Edward the fourth . . . Ireland, and whosoever . . . fight, long . . . fourth All Long . . . fourth* Q.

58. *stand you on nice points*] See note at line 27 above. "Stand upon terms" in Q occurs in *Henry V* III vi 78, and in *Pericles*, IV ii. 37. It is in Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and Peele's *Arraignement of Paris*, but not absolutely as here. Compare *The Spanish Tragedy*, III x. 20 "to stand on terms with us ?" (argue, debate) It is in Greene's *Orlando* (Grosart, XIII 127) exactly as in Q.

63. *out of hand*] See again 2 *Henry*

IV III. i 107 and Part I III ii. 102 (note) Elsewhere only in *Titus Andronicus*

68-75 *champion* . *Edward the Fourth*] See Grafton, *Continuation of Hardyng* (518) "As the seconde course came into ye hall, sir Robert Democke the Kynges champion, making a proclamation, that whosoeuer would saye that kyng Richard was not lawfullye Kyng, he would fight with hym at the utteraunce, and threwe downe his

*K. Edw.* Thanks, brave Montgomery, and thanks unto you all ·  
 If fortune serve me, I'll requite this kindness  
 Now, for this night, let's harbour here in York,  
 And when the morning sun shall raise his car  
 Above the border of this horizon, 80  
 We'll forward towards Warwick and his mates,  
 For well I wot that Henry is no soldier.  
 Ah, froward Clarence, how evil it beseeems thee  
 To flatter Henry, and forsake thy brother!  
 Yet, as we may, we'll meet both thee and Warwick. 85  
 Come on, brave soldiers doubt not of the day ·  
 And, that once gotten, doubt not of large pay.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE VIII.—*London. The palace*

*Flourish.* Enter King HENRY, WARWICK, MONTAGUE,  
 CLARENCE, EXETER, and OXFORD.

*War.* What counsel, lords? Edward from Belgia,  
 With hasty Germans and blunt Hollanders,

76-82. *Thanks . . . no soldier*] 53-58 *We thanke you all Lord Maure leade on the ware For this night weele harbour here in Yorke, And then as earlie as the morning sunne lifies up his beames about the horison Weele march to London, to meete with Warwike And pull false Henry from the Regall throne. Exeunt Omnes Q.* 83-87 *Ah, froward . . . pay*] omitted Q.

SCENE VIII.

*Flourish*] F 1, omitted Q, Ff 2, 3, 4. Enter King Henry . . .] Enter the King . . . Ff 1-5 *War What . . . Hath pass'd . . . doth . . . to London . . . flock to him*] 23-27 (follows *than you are hurt by me*, l 76, scene vi above, or l 22, Q). Enter one with a letter to Warwike. *War What . . . Is past . . . doe . . . towards London . . . follow him* Qq (Q 3 reads *giddy headed*)

gauntlet, & then all the hall cried kyng Richard. And so he did in thre partes of the halle and then one broughte hym a cup of wyne couered, & when he had dronke he caste oute the drinke, & departed with the cuppe. After that the herauldes cryed a largesse thrise in the halle " The occasion is not the same, but the formula is. See also Marlowe's *Edward II* (Dyce, 218, b)

80 *horizon*] Not elsewhere in Shakespeare. Pronounced as *orison*. Not in common use at this time, though old. In Q

82 *well I wot*] See Part I iv. vi. 32, and above, ii 11 134, and below, v. iv. 71. Here is another early example from

*A Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle*, 1496 " But well I wote that the redde worme and the menow bee good bayte for hym [the carpe] at all tymes "

SCENE VIII.

1. *What counsel*] See note at " Enter a Post," above, iv. vi 77, on the manipulation here in Q

1. *Belgia*] Older than Belgium for the country of the Belgae See again *Comedy of Errors*, iii 11 142, a passage which is recalled by another in Nashe's *An Almond for a Parrot*, 1589 " Behold the state of the low Countreyes . . . suppose Martin to be the map of *Belgia dilacerata* " (McKerrow, iii. 354)

Hath pass'd in safety through the narrow seas,  
 And with his troops doth march amain to London,  
 And many giddy people flock to him 5  
*K Hen* Let's levy men, and beat him back again.  
*Clar* A little fire is quickly trodden out,  
 Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench.  
*War.* In Warwickshire I have true-hearted friends,  
 Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war, 10  
 Those will I muster up and thou, son Clarence,  
 Shalt stir up in Suffolk, Norfolk and in Kent,  
 The knights and gentlemen to come with thee  
 Thou, brother Montague, in Buckingham,  
 Northampton, and in Leicestershire, shalt find 15  
 Men well inclin'd to hear what thou command'st.  
 And thou, brave Oxford, wondrous well beloved  
 In Oxfordshire, shalt muster up thy friends.  
 My sovereign, with the loving citizens,  
 Like to his island girt in with the ocean, 20  
 Or modest Dian circled with her nymphs,  
 Shall rest in London till we come to him  
 Fair lords, take leave, and stand not to reply  
 Farewell, my sovereign  
*K Hen* Farewell, my Hector, and my Troy's true hope 25  
*Clar* In sign of truth, I kiss your highness' hand

6-8. *K Hen* Let's . . . again *Clar.* A little . . . quench] 28-30. *Oxf* *Tis*  
*best to looke to this betimes, For if this fire doe kindle any further, It will be hard*  
*for vs to quench it out* Q 9-24 *In Warwickshire . . . Those . . . Shalt*  
*stir . . . Suffolk . . . Kent, The . . . thee Thou . . . shalt . . . command'st*  
*. . . beloved . . . muster . . . the loving . . . Like . . . nymphs, Shall . . . sovereign]*  
 31-44 *In Warwickshire . . . Them . . . shalt In Essex, Suffolke Kent,*  
*Stir up the . . . thee And thou . . . in Leistershire, Buckingham and Nor-*  
*thamptonshire shalt finde to doe . . . commands, And . . . belou'd, shalt*  
*in thy countreies muster his louing citizens, Shall rest soueraigne* Q  
 25. *Farewell . . . hope]* 45 *Farewell . . . Hector, my . . . hope* Q 26-31.  
*Clar.* *In sign of . . . happy farewell]* omitted Q.

3 narrow seas] See i. 1. 239 (note).  
 These events are in the extract at the  
 beginning of last scene Compare here  
 Grafton, *Continuacion of Hardyng*,  
 p. 601 (1543) "In the thirde yere of  
 his reigne (Henry VIII) the Scottes  
 . . . had out certain shippes well  
 manned and vitayled, and kepte with  
 theim the narrowe seas . . . whiche  
 rousers were named to be bannysshed  
 men"

4 march amain to London] See ii. i.  
 182.

9 true-hearted] Again in *Henry VIII.*  
 and *King Lear* Spenser has "vile  
 hearted cowardice" in *Mother Hub-*  
*berds Tale* (Globe, 522, a)

21 *Dian*] Shakespeare is very fond  
 of *Dian* for *Diana* I find it (of the  
 moon) in Hawes' *Pastyme of Pleasure*  
 (p. 76 rept.), 1509 "Dyane derlyngne,  
 pale as any leade"

21 circled with] See 2 *Henry VI.*  
 i. ii. 10.

25 *Hector Troy's true hope*] We  
 have had this already ii. i. 51

*K Hen.* Well-minded Clarence, be thou fortunate !  
*Mont* Comfort, my lord ; and so I take my leave  
*Oxf* And thus I seal my truth, and bid adieu.  
*K. Hen* Sweet Oxford, and my loving Montague, 30  
 And all at once, once more a happy farewell.  
*War* Farewell, sweet lords let 's meet at Coventry.  
 [Exeunt all but King Henry and Exeter.  
*K Hen* Here at the palace will I rest awhile.  
 Cousin of Exeter, what thinks your lordship ?  
 Methinks the power that Edward hath in field 35  
 Should not be able to encounter mine.  
*Exe* The doubt is that he will seduce the rest  
*K. Hen.* That 's not my fear, my meed hath got me fame :  
 I have not stopp'd mine ears to their demands,  
 Nor posted off their suits with slow delays, 40  
 My pity hath been balm to heal their wounds,  
 My mildness hath allay'd their swelling griefs,  
 My mercy dried their water-flowing tears,  
 I have not been desirous of their wealth,  
 Nor much oppress'd them with great subsidies, 45  
 Nor forward of revenge, though they much err'd  
 Then why should they love Edward more than me ?

32. *War Farewell . . Coventry*] 46, 47 *War. Farewell . . Countreie.*  
*All Agreed. Exeunt Omnes Q.* 33-51. *Here at the . . . shouts are these ?*  
 omitted Q.

27 *Well-minded*] This compound is paralleled by "high-minded" (1 *Henry VI.*), "bloody-minded" (2 and 3 *Henry VI.*), "noble-minded" (1 *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*) "Proud-minded" is in *Taming of Shrew* "Tender-minded" in *King Lear*, and "motley minded" in *As You Like It* But these belong to his younger work. "Well-minded" is in Hall's Chronicle (p 295) at this historical time "Montacute, whom the erle his brother well knewe not to be *well mynded* (but sore agaynst his stomacke) to take parte with these Lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme might trust him or no." The Lords were Exeter, Somerset and Oxford and the time Barnetfield

38-50 *That's not . . follow him*] Henry's characteristically effeminate speech, in the midst of these blood-thirsty wars, has no counterpart in Q In the last two lines "foolish pity" is

driven to its last stronghold of absurdity.

40. *posted off*] Compare "posted over" (2 *Henry VI.* III 1 255), and "o'er-posting" (2 *Henry IV.* I II 171) Hurried over These words occur in *The True Tragedie of Richard Thirde* (but not in Shakespeare's play *Richard III* ) "But they that knew how innocent I was, did post him off with many long delayes" (Hazlitt's Shaks Lib p 126) An example from Hakluyt ("they posted the matter off so often") is given in the Irving Shakespeare by Mr Marshall Compare Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* (Shaks Lib. p 129) "*posted off* to the will of time" Literally it occurs in A Day, *English Secretary*, 1586 "The compass of your writing . . makes me *post off* the answer" (*New Eng Dict*).

43 *water-flowing tears*] "water-flowing pipes" occurs in *Locrum*, IV. III., in a literal sense.

No, Exeter, these graces challenge grace  
 And when the lion fawns upon the lamb,  
 The lamb will never cease to follow him

50

[*Shout within, "A Lancaster! A Lancaster!"*]

*Exe.* Hark, hark, my lord! what shouts are these?

*Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers.*

*K. Edw.* Seize on the shame-faced Henry! bear him hence,  
 And once again proclaim us King of England  
 You are the fount that makes small brooks to flow  
 Now stops thy spring; my sea shall suck them dry, 55  
 And swell so much the higher by their ebb.  
 Hence with him to the Tower! let him not speak.

[*Exeunt some with King Henry.*]

And, lords, towards Coventry bend we our course,  
 Where peremptory Warwick now remains.  
 The sun shines hot, and, if we use delay, 60  
 Cold biting winter mars our hop'd for hay.

*Glou.* Away betimes, before his forces join,

*Enter . . .] Enter Edward and his souldiers Ff, Enter Edward and his trame*  
*Q* (new scene of five lines) 52-64 *Seize on . . . Coventry]* 1-5. *Seize on*  
*the shamefast Henry, And once againe conuaye him to the Tower. Awaie*  
*with hime, I will not heare him speake And now towards Couentre let*  
*us bend our course To meet with Warwike and his confederates Exeunt*  
*Omnes Q.*

49, 50 *lion . . . lamb*] Is Shakespeare poking fun at Henry VI here?—digging him a little in the ribs? "Well-minded Clarence" might be regarded also as cynical

52 *Seize on . . . Henry*] Hall describes Henry's capture "When the Duke of Somerset and other of Kyng Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly changed euery man fled and in haste shyfted for hym selfe, leuyng Kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London . . . in whiche place he was by Kyng Edward taken and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie" (p. 294)

52. *shame-faced*] modest, bashful, shy See note, Part II. i. iii 54: "In him raigned shamefestnesse" (Grafton, 628).

54-56. *small brooks . . . my sea shall . . . swell . . .]* May have been suggested by Hall. "Kyng Edward did

dayly encrease hys power (as a runnyng riuer by goyng more and more augmenteth)," 293.

60, 61 *sun shines . . . hay*] A somewhat awkward development of the proverb "Make hay while the sun shines" "Who that in July whyle Phoebus is shynynge about his hay is not besy labourynge shall in the winter his negligence bewayle" (Barclay, *Ship of Fools* (Jamieson edn ii 46), 1509), "When the sunne shineth, make hay" (Heywood (Sharman, p. 11), 1546). Not a very old said saw. But these lines are really from Q, modified. See below, at the end of Scene iii in Act v Malone has an ingenious "suspect" here, that "hay" should be "aye", and the reading "hope for aye" To him replied Steevens with the true proverb, in a note which I had not read when I wrote the above. He gave it only from Ray.

And take the great-grown traitor unawares.  
Brave warriors, march amain towards Coventry.

[*Exeunt.*

63 *great-grown*] Compare "thick-grown brake," above, III. i. 1. Shakespeare has "rough-grown" in *Lucrece* 64. *Coventry*] See above, line 32, d "long-grown" in *1 Henry IV.* where Warwick announces he is collecting his army at Coventry. And "high-grown" in *King Lear*; a

## ACT V

SCENE I.—*Coventry.*

*Enter WARWICK, the Mayor of Coventry, two Messengers, and others upon the walls*

*War.* Where is the post that came from valiant Oxford?

How far hence is thy lord, mine honest fellow?

*First Mess.* By this at Dunsmore, marching hitherward.

1-3 *War.* Where is . . . mine . . . *First Mess.* By . . . Dunsmore . . . hitherward] 1-3. *Enter Warwike on the walles* *War.* Where . . . my . . . *Oxf post* By . . . Daintrie marching hitherward Q.

*Enter Warwick, the Mayor of Coventry . . .* The Coventry events are transposed from their sequence in Hall. They took place (as iv viii 58 implies) before Edward's capture of Henry, and while he was on his way to London. After the meeting with Montgomery, and the evading of Montague (see iv. vii 8 and 41 extracts), Hall writes "Warwycke was displeased, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for lettyng Kyng Edward passe . . . ye Marques . . . neuer moved fote, nor made resistance as he was commaunded . . . the erle . . . in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence to ioyne with hym. But when he perceived that the duke lingered . . . he then began to suspect that the duke was of hys bretherne corrupted . . . & therefore without delay marched toward Couentrie . . . In the meane season Kyng Edward . . . avauced his power toward Couentrie, & in a playne by the cite he pyched his felde. And the next day . . . he valiantly bad the erle battayle which mustrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde ye duke of Clarence came . . . with a great army,

Kynge Edward being also thereof informed, raysed hys campe, & made toward the duke . . . as though he would fight. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as though he had beene made arbiter . . . rode to the duke . . . from him he came to Kyng Edward . . . in conclusion . . . both the bretheren louingly embraced & comoned together . . . thys marchandyse was labored . . . by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles utter confusion . . . Clarence sent diuers frendes (to the earl) to excuse him of the act he had done . . . (and) . . . to take some good ende now while he might with kyng Edward. When the erle had hard patiently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accursed him . . . he gaue aunswere . . . that he had leuer be always lyke hym selfe, then like a false & a perured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war tyll either he had lost hys owne lyfe, or . . . put under his foes and enemies" (p 294). Warwick then hurries toward London hoping to overtake and fight King Edward on the way, the latter having proceeded there at once. On his way he learns that



*War* How far off is our brother Montague?

Where is the post that came from Montague?

5

*Second Mess* By this at Dainty, with a puissant troop.

*Enter Sir JOHN SOMERVILLE.*

*War* Say, Somerville, what says my loving son?

And, by thy guess, how nigh is Clarence now?

*Som* At Southam I did leave him with his forces,

And do expect him here some two hours hence. 10

[*Drum heard*]

*War* Then Clarence is at hand, I hear his drum.

*Som.* It is not his, my lord, here Southam lies

The drum your honour hears marcheth from Warwick.

*War* Who should that be? belike, unlook'd-for friends

*Som* They are at hand, and you shall quickly know. 15

*March. Flourish Enter King EDWARD, GLOUCESTER,  
and forces*

*K Edw.* Go, trumpet, to the walls, and sound a parle.

*Glo* See how the surly Warwick mans the wall

*War.* O unbid spite! is sportful Edward come?

Where slept our scouts, or how are they seduced,

That we could hear no news of his repair? 20

*K Edw.* Now, Warwick, wilt thou ope the city gates,

Speak gentle words, and humbly bend thy knee,

Call Edward king, and at his hands beg mercy?

And he shall pardon thee these outrages

4, 5. *How . . . our . . . from Montague?* 4, 5 *Where is our . . . from Montague?* Q. 6 *Second Mess By . . . troop* 6. *Post. I left him at Donsmore with his troopes* Q 7, 8. *Enter . . . War. Say . . . my . . . nigh . . . now?* 7, 8 *War Say Summerfield where is my . . . farre . . . hence?* Q 9-11 *Som At . . . with . . . forces . . . here some two . . . hence War. Then Clarence . . . drum* 9-11. *Summer At Southham my Lord I left him . . . force . . . him two houres hence War Then Oxford . . . drum* Q. 12-15 *Som It is not . . . quickly know* omitted Q. 16 *K. Edw Go . . . parle* omitted Q 17-20. *See how . . . his repair* 12-15. *Enter Edward and his power. Glo See brother, where the . . . sportfull . . . have no newes of their repair* Q 21-24 *Now . . . outrages* 16, 17. *Now Warwick wilt thou be sorrie for thy faults, And call Edward king and he will pardon thee* Q

he is late and Henry is taken prisoner  
He determines therefore to hazard all  
on one battle and "pitched his field"  
on an hill at Barnet, ten miles distant  
from both London and Saint Albans  
For his allies, see note at "well-  
minded," above, line 27

6 *Dainty*] Daventry. These two  
are transposed in Q.

18 *sportful*] Occurs in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Third Day), p. 52, ed 1621  
"Som sport-full jig" See Introduction,  
Part I I think (as the lawyers  
say) "you may take it from me" that  
"spotful" in Q is a misprint Edward  
was a great carouser

19 *Where slept our scouts*] Steevens  
parallels *King John*, iv. ii. 116.

*War.* Nay, rather, wilt thou draw thy forces hence, 25  
 Confess who set thee up and pluck'd thee down,  
 Call Warwick patron, and be penitent?  
 And thou shalt still remain the Duke of York  
*Glou.* I thought, at least, he would have said the king;  
 Or did he make the jest against his will? 30  
*War.* Is not a dukedom, sir, a goodly gift?  
*Glou.* Ay, by my faith, for a poor earl to give.  
 I'll do thee service for so good a gift.  
*War.* 'Twas I that gave the kingdom to thy brother.  
*K. Edw.* Why then 'tis mine, if but by Warwick's gift 35  
*War.* Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight:  
 And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again,  
 And Henry is my king, Warwick his subject  
*K. Edw.* But Warwick's king is Edward's prisoner;  
 And, gallant Warwick, do but answer this 40  
 What is the body when the head is off?  
*Glou.* Alas! that Warwick had no more forecast,  
 But, whiles he thought to steal the single ten,  
 The king was slyly finger'd from the deck

25-28. *Nay . . . hence . . . pluck'd . . . York*] 18-21. *Nay . . . backe . . .*  
*puld . . . Yorke Q.* 29, 30. *I thought . . . will*] 22, 23. *I had thought . . .*  
*will Q.* 31-34. *Is not . . . thy brother*] 24. *War. Twas Warwike gaue the*  
*kingdome to thy brother Q.* 35-38. *Why then . . . Thou art . . . And Henry*  
*. . . subject*] 25-28. *Why then . . . I but thou art . . . Henry . . . subiect*  
*Q.* 39. *But . . . prisoner*] omitted *Q.* 40-46. *And, gallant . . . What is*  
*. . . forecast . . . whiles . . . slyly . . . in the Tower*] 29-35. *Edw I prithee*  
*gallant . . . tell me this, what is . . . foresight . . . whilst finelie . . . in*  
*the Bishops . . . Tower Q.*

33. *I'll do thee service*] Technical language of feudalism, used mockingly? It cannot be military here

36. *Atlas*] Shakespeare has not this illustration elsewhere. Peele used it of England's ruler (Elizabeth) in *Polyhymnia*, 1590 —

"Britannia's *Atlas*, star of England's globe

That sways the massy sceptre of her land  
 And holds the royal reins of Albion."

37. *weakling*] "Thyself art mighty; for thine own sake leave me. Myself a *weakling*" (*Lucrece*, 584). Nowhere else in Shakespeare. I have no earlier example. Both Sylvester (1591) and Spenser used words in -ling: the latter has "nursling," "worldling"; the former "godling," "lambling," "starveling," "riverling." It is used as an

adjective in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i, 80 "the *weakling* coward"

43. *the single ten*] simple ten. The nearest card to a court or royal card. But there may be a reference here to a special game. Gloucester is so fond of proverbial allusions, or as Prince Edward calls them below, "his currish riddles" (v. v. 26).

44. *finger'd*] stolen. See again, *Hamlet*, v. ii. 15

44. *deck*] pack of cards. Still in use in Ireland (especially in Galway). The earliest I have met is in *Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vi. 422), ante 1590. "I am one more (knave) than is in the *deck*." Peele is very fond of cards. "since the King hath put us among the discarding cards, and as if were, turned us with deuces and treys out of the *deck*" (*Edward I* ed. Bullen, Sc. vii. 29-31).

You left poor Henry at the bishop's palace, 45

And, ten to one, you 'll meet him in the Tower.

*K. Edw.* 'Tis even so yet you are Warwick still.

*Glou.* Come, Warwick, take the time, kneel down, kneel down

Nay, when? strike now, or else the iron cools

*War.* I had rather chop this hand off at a blow, 50

And with the other fling it at thy face,

Than bear so low a sail, to strike to thee.

*K. Edw.* Sail how thou canst, have wind and tide thy friend,

This hand, fast wound about thy coal-black hair,

Shall, whiles thy head is warm and new cut off, 55

Write in the dust this sentence with thy blood,

"Wind-changing Warwick now can change no more."

*Enter OXFORD, with drum and colours*

*War.* O cheerful colours! see where Oxford comes!

*Oxf* Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster!

*[He and his forces enter the city.]*

*Glou.* The gates are open, let us enter too 60

*K. Edw.* So other foes may set upon our backs.

47. 'Tis . . . still] 36 'Tis even so, and yet you are olde Warwike still Q. 48-57. Come, Warwick . . . change no more] omitted Q 58-60. Enter . . . O cheerful . . . enter too] 37-40 O cheereful . . . comes Enter Oxford with drum and souldiers & al crye Oxf Oxford, Oxford, for Lancaster Exit. Edw The gates are open, see they enter in, Lets follow them and bid them battaile in the streetes Q 61-65 So other . . . same] 41, 42 Glo. No, so some other might set upon our backs, Weele staie till all be entered, and then follow them Q.

47. you are Warwick still] Nearly Warwick's own words at the end of extract from Hall above

49 strike . . . iron cools] "strike while the iron is hot" It is in Heywood (ed Sharman, p 11), 1546.

50, 51 hand . . . with the other fling it] See above, II vi 81, 82

52. bear so low a sail] Not in Shakespeare again, but a common old expression "he makyth them to bere babylls, and to bere a low sayle" (Skelton, *Speke Parrot* (l. 422), circa 1515) And in Tusser, 500 *Points* (Eng Dial. Soc p 211), 1580 "beare lowe saile, least stocke should quaille" To go modestly, humbly, or like a craven The converse was also used, and is in North's *Plutarch*, 1579 (Tudor Trans III, 37)

52 to strike to thee] Strike sail at thy appearance, see above, III III 5 To strike sail was the same as to vail

bonnet, to lower the ensign or topsail in saluting "Made the highest strike sail and vayle bonnet" (*Court and Times of James I* II 38, Letter of Carleton, 1617)

53 wind and tide thy friend] Seems to have been a saying about Warwick, see above, III III 48 "For this is he that moves both wind and tide." The expression "wind and tide" is also in *Comedy of Errors*, but in the applied use here it seems uncommon. It occurs in *The Proverbs of John Heywood* (*Early Eng Dramat* ed Farmer, p 36), 1546 "Let this wind overblow. a time I will spy To take wind and tide with me, and speed thereby"

54 coal-black] See "coal-black as jet" (2 *Henry VI* II I. 111, note, and v 1. 69, note). Often in Peele

61. backs] rear (of army). See 2 *Henry IV.* I. III, 79

Stand we in good array, for they, no doubt,  
 Will issue out again and bid us battle  
 If not, the city being but of small defence,  
 We'll quickly rouse the traitors in the same 65  
*War.* O, welcome, Oxford! for we want thy help.

*Enter MONTAGUE, with drum and colours.*

*Mont.* Montague, Montague, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*]

*Glou.* Thou and thy brother both shall buy this treason  
 Even with the dearest blood your bodies bear.

*K Edw* The harder match'd, the greater victory 70  
 My mind presageth happy gain and conquest

*Enter SOMERSET, with drum and colours*

*Som.* Somerset, Somerset, for Lancaster!

[*He and his forces enter the city.*]

*Glou* Two of thy name, both Dukes of Somerset,  
 Have sold their lives unto the house of York,  
 And thou shalt be the third, if this sword hold 75

*Enter CLARENCE, with drum and colours*

*War* And lo, where George of Clarence sweeps along,  
 Of force enough to bid his brother battle,

66 *War.* O, . . help] omitted Q 67. *Enter Montague . .*] 47 *Enter Montague . . and souldiers.* *Mont* Montague . . *Lancaster.* *Exit* Q. 68, 69. *Glou.* Thou . . . bear] 48, 49 *Edw* *Traitorous Montague, thou and thy . . Shall deerly abie this rebellious act* Q 70, 71 *K Edw.* *The harder . . conquest*] omitted Q 72 *Enter Somerset . . Som* Somerset . .] 43. *Enter Summerset . . and soldiers* *Sum* Summerset . . *Lancaster* *Exit* Q 73-75. *Two of . . if this sword hold*] 44-46. *Two of . . and my sword hold* Q 76-80. *War* *And lo, . . force . . battle . . Come, Clarence .*

63 *bid us battle*] See extract from Hall at beginning of scene. And see III iii 235.

68, 69 *buy this treason . . . with*] exchange it for. Compare *Locrine*, II. iv. 13 "thou shalt buy thy rashness with thy death. And rue too late thy overbold attempts." The word "abie" (= *e.* pay for) in Q here, occurs twice in *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. II. 175, 335) in forms *aby* and *abie*, Qq, *abside*, Ff

73. *Two of thy name*] "Edmund, slain at the battle of St. Alban's, 1455, and Henry, his son, beheaded after the battle of Hexham, 1463" (Ritson).

76. *sweeps along*] goes along

quickly. Golding speaks of "Apollo . . . sweeping through the ayre" (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, XI 218) in flight.

77 *Of force enough to . . battle*] Phillip de Commynes says (Danett's trans p 89, 1596) "as they stood in order of battelle, the one in face of the other, suddenly the D. of Clarence the King's brother (who was reconciled to the King as before you have heard) reuolted to the King with twelue thousand men and better, which no lesse astoned the Earle than encouraged the King, whose force was not great."

77. *bid his brother battle*] See note at line 63 above.

With whom an upright zeal to right prevails

More than the nature of a brother's love !

Come, Clarence, come, thou wilt, if Warwick call. 80

*Clar* Father of Warwick, know you what this means ?

[*Taking his red rose out of his hat*

Look here, I throw my infamy at thee.

I will not ruin my father's house,

Who gave his blood to lime the stones together,

And set up Lancaster. Why, throw'st thou, Warwick, 85

That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,

To bend the fatal instruments of war

Against his brother and his lawful king ?

Perhaps thou wilt object my holy oath

To keep that oath were more impiety 90

Than Jephthah's, when he sacrificed his daughter

I am so sorry for my trespass made

That, to deserve well at my brother's hands,

I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe .

With resolution, wheresoe'er I meet thee,— 95

As I will meet thee if thou stir abroad,—

*call*] 50-55. *Enter Clarence . . souldiers War And loe . . power . . battell Cla* Clarence, Clarence, for Lancaster *Edw Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too ? A parlie surra to George of Clarence Sound a Parlie, and Richard and Clarence whispers together, and then Clarence takes his red Rose out of his hat, and throwes it at Warwike War Com, Clarence, come, call Q* 81-88 *Clar Father . means . I throw . Lancaster . . lawful king ?*] 56-62 *Cla Father . . . meanes ? I throw mine . Lancaster, Thinkest thou That Clarence is so harsh unnaturall, To lift his sword against his brother's life Q.* 89-97. *Perhaps thou wilt . . misleading me*] omitted Q.

80. *Et tu Brute, wilt thou stab Cæsar too*] This line (Q) is made use of in *Julius Cæsar*, III i 77, although omitted here

81. *Taking his red rose* ] Not in Ff, but inserted from Q by Theobald, and absolutely necessary The Quarto follows Hall closely in the parley of Richard and Clarence

83. *ruinate*] Only here and in *Titus Andronicus* in the plays Also in *Lucrece*, 944, and Sonnet 10 It is in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II. XII 7, v x. 26 And in his *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Globe, 522, b) Very often in Greene. Still used provincially in Ireland.

84. *to lime*] to cement. The verbal use readily suggested itself from the common verb "to lime" (from bird-lime).

87, 88 *To bend Against*] to direct them against Compare *Richard II.* III ii 116, and *Richard III* I. II. 95 *Peele has*

"That bends his force, puff'd up with Amurath's aid, Against your holds"

(*Battle of Alcazar*, Act I II. 18 (424, a, Dyce))

91. *Jephthah*] See Judges XI. 30. Again in *Hamlet* There were at least two Latin, or University plays on Jephthah considerably before this date; and two English ones later

95, 96 *meet thee . meet thee*] Something near Peele's way of writing —

"And haste they make to meet and meet they do,  
And do the thing for which they meet in haste"

To plague thee for thy foul misleading me  
 And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,  
 And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks  
 Pardon me, Edward, I will make amends. 100  
 And, Richard, do not frown upon my faults,  
 For I will henceforth be no more unconstant.

*K. Edw.* Now, welcome more, and ten times more beloved,  
 Than if thou never hadst deserved our hate.

*Glou.* Welcome, good Clarence, this is brother-like 105

*War.* O passing traitor, perjured and unjust!

*K. Edw.* What, Warwick, wilt thou leave the town, and fight?

Or shall we beat the stones about thine ears?

*War.* Alas, I am not coop'd here for defence!

I will away towards Barnet presently, 110

And bid thee battle, Edward, if thou darest.

*K. Edw.* Yes, Warwick, Edward dares, and leads the way.

Lords to the field. Saint George and victory!

[*Exeunt. March. Warwick and his company follow.*]

98-102 *And so . . . Edward . . . And, Richard . . . For . . . unconstant*  
 63-67. *And so . . . my brothers . . . Edward, for I have done amisse, And . . .*  
*upon me, For henceforth I will proue no more unconstant* Q 103, 104 *Now*  
*. . . and . . . beloved hate* 68, 69 *Welcome Clarence, and . . . welcome,*  
*hate* Q 105, 106 *Welcome . . . brother-like . . . unjust* 70, 71.  
*Welcome . . . brotherlike . . . vnust* Q 107, 108 *What, Warwick*  
*ears* 72-74 *Now Warwike . . . eares* 75 *Q 109-111 Alas, I . . . here*  
*towards . . . darest* 75-77 *Why I vppe heere . . . to . . . darest*  
*Q. 112, 113. Yes . . . Edward dares victory* 78, 79 *Yes . . . he*  
*dares . . . victorie Exeunt Omnes* Q.

(*Polyhymnia*, 141 (571, a)). At a  
 riper age, Shakespeare writes "'tis  
 true, 'tis pity, And pity 'tis 'tis true  
*A foolish figure*"

98 *proud-hearted* Not elsewhere in  
 Shakespeare See note at "great-  
 grown," iv. viii 63, and at "well-  
 minded," iv viii 27 There are many  
 combinations, with "-hearted," mostly  
 in the early plays and poems

106 *passing* surpassing For this  
 line, see extract from Hall at the be-  
 ginning of the Act

108 *about thine ears* about thy  
 head Frequent in Shakespeare, as  
 in *Henry V.* iii. vii. 91, *Romeo and*  
*Juliet*, iii 1 84, and *Coriolanus*, iii 11  
 1, iv vi. 99. Always with reference  
 to combat, or damage done, and helped  
 no doubt by the phrase "by the ears,"  
 from animal-fighting, especially bear-  
 baiting.

109 *Alas*] Used in mockery, not an  
 uncommon sense Compare G Har-  
 vey, *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*  
 (Grosart, iii. 48) "*Alas, I could do*  
*anie thing with thee now*", and again  
 (*ibid* 63) "*Alas, have thy writings*  
*such efficacie*" And Greene, *Philomela*  
 (Grosart, xi. 122) "such pleasant  
 Lessons, *alas* it were amorous loue  
 vowed in honour of Venus" I have  
 noted it elsewhere in Shakespeare

109 *coop'd*] confined See *King*  
*John*, ii 1 25 Compare *Locutus*, ii 1  
 92 "Penthesilea . . . *Coop'd* up the  
 faint-heart Grecians in the camp."  
 Lodge has it similarly in *Wounds of*  
*Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii.  
 179) —

"Here in Præneste am I *coop'd* up  
 Amongst a troop of hunger-starved  
 men."

Both later th 3 *Henry VI.*

SCENE II.—*A field of battle near Barnet.*

*Alarums and excursions Enter King EDWARD, bringing forth  
WARWICK wounded*

*K Edw.* So lie thou there die thou, and die our fear,  
For Warwick was a bug that fear'd us all  
Now, Montague, sit fast I seek for thee,  
That Warwick's bones may keep thine company [*Exit*  
*War* Ah, who is nigh? come to me, friend or foe, 5  
And tell me who is victor, York or Warwick?  
Why ask I that? my mangled body shows,  
My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows  
That I must yield my body to the earth,  
And, by my fall, the conquest to my foe 10  
Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,  
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

SCENE II *Alarums* . ] *Ff, Alarums, and then enter Warwike wounded Q.*  
1-4 *K Edw. So lie* company] omitted Q 5-14 *War Ah, who is nigh?*  
to my foe spreading tree] 1-9 *War Ah, who is nigh?* to my foes  
. . top branch spreading tree (rampant for ramping Q 3) (line 8 omitted) Q

1 *Enter King Edward, bringing forth  
Warwick wounded*] Q has only "enter  
Warwick wounded" Hall writes  
here "Kyng Edward beyng very of  
so long a conflict . . caused a great  
crewe of fresh men . . to set on  
their enemies . . the erle . know-  
ing perfily that there was all Kyng  
Edwardes power, comforted his men  
. . desyring them with hardy stom-  
ackes, to bear out this last and finall  
brunt of the battaile . his souldiers  
beyng sore wounded . gave little  
regard to his worde, he beyng a man of  
a mynde inuincible, rushed into the  
middest of his enemies, where he was  
. . stricken doune and slaine The  
marquis Montacute, thynkyng to succor  
his brother, was likewise ouer throwen  
and slaine. After the erle was ded, his  
parte fled" (p. 296) . . "Some  
aucthors write, that this battaill was  
fought so nere hande, that Kyng Ed-  
ward was constrained to fight his  
awne person, and fought as sore as  
any man of his partie, and that the  
erle of Warwicke, whiche was wont  
euer to ride on horsebacke com-  
fortyng his men was now aduised by  
the Marques his brother to relynquish

his horse, and try the extremitie by  
handie strokes" (296) Shakespeare  
has therefore excellent reason for these  
personal encounters

2 *bug that fear'd us all*] From  
Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, II xii 25 —  
"For all that here on earth we dread-  
full hold,

Be but as bugs to fearen babes  
withall,

Compared to the creatures in the  
seas entrall"

And again, II iii 20 "ghastly bug  
does greatly them affeare." See again  
in *The Taming of the Shrew*, I ii. 113.  
Golding speaks of "The barking bug  
Anubis" in his Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,  
Book ix 814 Craig quotes from As-  
cham's *Toxophilus*.

3 *sit fast*] See IV 1. 119 (note)  
11, 12 *cedar . princely eagle*]   
Compare Marlowe's *Edward II* (Dyce,  
195, a) "A lofty cedar-tree fair flourish-  
ing. On whose top branches kingly  
eagles perch" "Princely eagle" has  
occurred already in this play, II 1 91.  
One of the parallels adduced by Dyce  
to show that Marlowe had a share in the  
writing of the *True Tragedie* (Q)

11-15 *cedar . low shrubs*] This

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept,  
 Whose top branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree  
 And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind. 15  
 These eyes, that now are dimm'd with death's black veil,  
 Have been as piercing as the mid-day sun  
 To search the secret treasons of the world ·  
 The wrinkles in my brows, now fill'd with blood,  
 Were liken'd oft to kingly sepulchres; 20  
 For who liv'd king but I could dig his grave?  
 And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow?  
 Lo! now my glory smear'd in dust and blood;  
 My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,  
 Even now forsake me, and of all my lands 25  
 Is nothing left me but my body's length

15-18. *And kept . . . the world*] omitted Q. 19-26. *The wrinkles . . . body's length*] 10-17 *The wrinkles . . . bodies length* Q.

additional metaphor is very dexterously woven into the first writing in Q. It is in *Titus Andronicus*, iv. iii. 45 "we are but shrubs, no cedars we", in a different usage Greene has it as here "high Cedars are crushed with tempests, when low shrubs are not touched with the winde" (*Pandosto* (Grosart, iv. 249), 1588) And in *Perimedes* "poore men like little shrubs . . . escaped many blastes, when high and tall Cedars were shaken with euerie tempest" (Grosart, vii. 42), 1588 See also *Soliman and Perseda* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, v. 364), 1592 "But the shrub is safe when the cedar shaketh." Later it is one of the commonest figures See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Rolla*, ii. 3, *Lover's Progress*, i. 1, *Valentinian*, ii. vi. And Chapman's *Byrons Tragedie*, v. (Pearson, ii. 306), Dryden, *Rival Ladies*, vii. 1 (1664), etc. Much varied but substantially identical Nashe has it in *Four Letters Confuted* (Grosart, ii. 236), 1593. Were we to assign this image of a necessity to Greene, and the preceding lines to Marlowe, we arrive at this result Marlowe wrote the *True Tragedie* here, and Greene furnished it up for the first Folio! This, I think, is a new view, but it is as legitimate as some of the arguments (Malone's *e.g.*) one meets I see nothing but Shakespeare in this noble speech, seizing on noble thoughts

13. *the ramping lion*] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, i. iii. 5.—

"It fortun'd, out of the thickest wood  
 A ramping lyon rushed suddenly"  
 Peele has "a ramping lioness," and "ramping lion-like."

14. *Jove's . . . tree*] Marlowe has "Jove's huge tree" in *Edward II.* (near the end). Golding tells of the tree, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii. 802, 803—

"This tree (as all the rest of Okes)  
 was sacred unto Jove

And sprouted of an Acorne, which  
 was fet from Dodon grove"  
 See again *As You Like It*, iii. ii. 249  
 Greene says "The Oake is called Arbor Jovis for the strength" (Grosart, ix. 174)

16, 17. *These eyes . . . as piercing . . . mid-day sun*] See Part II. iii. 1. 216 (note) Peele has "piercing eyes" in *David and Bethsabe* (466, a). Compare *1 Henry VI* i. 1. 12-14 "His sparkling eyes . . . More dazzled and drove back his enemies, Than midday sun." An interesting parallel, or unconscious continuation of an older thought, through the time of the whole three Parts. Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (end of Act iii) "torches . . . As brightly burning as the mid-daies sunne"

20. *sepulchres*] See ii. v. 115.  
 23. *glory smear'd in dust*] Compare "Triumphant death, smear'd with captivity" (*1 Henry VI* iv. vii. 3). Smirched, besmirched See *Contention*, Part I at v. ii. 46. "Smeared . . . with . . . blood."



Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?  
And, live we how we can, yet die we must.

*Enter OXFORD and SOMERSET.*

*Som.* Ah, Warwick, Warwick! wert thou as we are,  
We might recover all our loss again 30  
The queen from France hath brought a puissant power;  
Even now we heard the news. Ah! could'st thou fly

*War.* Why, then I would not fly. Ah! Montague,  
If thou be there, sweet brother, take my hand,  
And with thy lips keep in y soul a while 35  
Thou lov'st me not; for, brother, if thou didst,  
Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood  
That glues my lips and will not let me speak  
Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead

27, 28. *Why, what . . . we must*] 35, 36 *War What is . . . we must* Q.  
29-32 *Enter . . . Som. Ah, . . . fly*] 18-22 *Enter . . . Oxf Ah . . . cheere*  
*vp thy selfe and lue, For yet thears hope enough to win the date. Our warlike*  
*Queene with troopes is come from France, And at South-hampton landed all her*  
*trane, And mightst thou lue, then would we neuer fle* Q. 33-39. *War. Why,*  
*then . . . I am dead*] 23-27. *War. Why then I would not fle, nor haue I now,*  
*But Hercules himselfe must yeeld to ods, For manie wounds recei'd, and manie*  
*moe repaid, Hath robd my strong knyt sinews of their strength, And spite of*  
*spites needs must I yeeld to death* Q

27, 28. *Why, what is pomp . . . we must*] These lines are put into Warwick's lips in his final speech (before "Sweet rest his soul") in Q.

31. *The queen from France*] This passage is neatly narrated by Commynes (Danett, 89) "The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell above mentioned was fought, having in his company the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset (our Chronicles report that the Duke of Sommerset was at Barnet field with the Earle of Warwicke and repaired afterward to the Queene, and was taken in the second battle, and then beheaded), with diuers others of his kinsfolkes. . . His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I have been informed by diuers that were with him and if the Earle of Warwicke would haue staid for him it is very like the victory should haue been theirs. But the Earle feared both the Duke of Sommerset, whose father and brother he had slaine, and also Queene Margaret the Princes mother, wherefore he fought alone and would not tarie for them." This is much nearer the dramatic arrival than Hall's account.

33. *Why, then I would not fly*] In Q there is a strange medley here. We have first a missing line, "For Hercules himself must yield to odds," that has been already made use of at II. i. 53 in this play. But stranger still remains. The three lines following in Q, have already appeared above at II. iii. 3-5, and more exactly than in their appearance at that place in Q. "Spite of spite," for example, replaces there the Q "force perforce" (used in 2 *Henry VI* I. i. 258). These puzzling confusions cannot possibly be explained except in the one way—identity of authorship and a natural carelessness in using his own matter when rewriting. Texts and memories now mixed. The words following here in Q show an unmeaning break-off. There was perhaps some erasure, or mark to show one was needed. I see Malone has not failed to see these repetitions. The Hercules line he is therefore compelled to withdraw from Shakespeare. It is Malone's position that nothing in Q can be by Shakespeare.

37. *congealed blood*] See above, I. iii. 52 (note)

*Som.* Ah, Warwick ! Montague hath breath'd his last ; 40  
 And to the latest gasp cried out for Warwick,  
 And said "Commend me to my valiant brother."  
 And more he would have said , and more he spoke,  
 Which sounded like a cannon in a vault,  
 That mought not be distinguish'd ; but at last 45  
 I well might hear, deliver'd with a groan,  
 " O, farewell, Warwick ! "  
*War* Sweet rest his soul ! Fly, lords, and save yourselves ;  
 For Warwick bids you all farewell, to meet in heaven [Dies.  
*Oxf* Away, away, to meet the queen's great power ! 50  
 [Here they bear away his body Exeunt.

SCENE III.—*Another part of the field*

*Flourish* Enter King EDWARD in triumph , with CLARENCE,  
 GLOUCESTER, and the rest.

*K Edw.* Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,  
 And we are graced with wreaths of victory.

40-47. *Som.* Ah, . . . Montague . . . And to . . . And said . . . have said . . . spoke, Which . . . mought . . . Warwick ! ] 28-34 *Som.* Thy brother Montague . . . And at the pang of death I heard him cry And say . . . have spoke . . . said, which . . . could not be distinguish'd for the sound, And so the valiant Montague gave up the ghost Q 48, 49 *War Sweet* . . . heaven ] 37, 38 *Sweet* . . . Heaven He dies Q (for 35, 36, Q, see above at 27, 28) 50 *Oxf.* Away . . . power ] 39-44. *Oxf.* Come noble Summerset, lets take our horse, And cause retreat be sounded through the campe, That all our friends that yet remaine alive, May be warn'd and save themselves by flight. That done, with them weele post unto the Queene, And once more trie our fortune in the field. *Ex.* Ambo. Q

## SCENE III

Enter . . . ] Enter Edward, Clarence, Gloster, with souldiers Q 1, 2  
*Thus* victory ] 45-48. Thus still our fortune gives vs victorie, And girts our temples with triumphant roies. The bigboned traitor Warwike hath breathde his last, And heauen this daie hath smilde vpon vs all Q.

41 latest gasp ] See II. i. 108 (note)  
 43, 44 more he spoke . . . cannon in a vault ] Compare the passage at the death of Warwick's brother, II. iii. 17, 18 —

"in the very pangs of death  
 he cried  
 Like to a dismal clangor heard  
 from far,  
 'Warwick, revenge ! ' "  
 Many editors read "clamour" here from Q, which is to be regretted.

45. mought ] Old form of "might." It is in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender*, March. Peele uses it later.

## SCENE III.

1-9. Thus far . . . fight with us ] Shakespeare has altered the wording here, but the substance and even the figures of speech are identical. "Girts" is paralleled and noted on both in Part I. and Part II (III. i. 171 and I. i. 63). "Bigboned" occurs in *Titus Andronicus*, IV. iii. 46 "Brightsome" is in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* ; "Beames" (in Q) is apparently a mistake. The unpleasant "I mean," already noted on, is common to both. "Easeful" is twice in Peele, *David*

- But, in the midst of this bright-shining day,  
 I spy a black, suspicious, threatening cloud  
 That will encounter with our glorious sun, 5  
 Ere he attain his easeful western bed  
 I mean, my lords, those powers that the queen  
 Hath raised in Gallia, have arrived our coast,  
 And, as we hear, march on to fight with us.
- Clar.* A little gale will soon disperse that cloud, 10  
 And blow it to the source from whence it came :  
 Thy very beams will dry those vapours up,  
 For every cloud engenders not a storm
- Glou.* The queen is valued thirty thousand strong,  
 And Somerset, with Oxford, fled to her : 15  
 If she have time to breathe, be well assured  
 Her faction will be full as strong as ours.
- K. Edw.* We are advertis'd by our loving friends  
 That they do hold their course toward Tewksbury  
 We, having now the best at Barnet field, 20

3-6 *But, in day, I spy . . . threatening cloud That . . . sun, Ere . . . his . . . bed* 50-52. *But in this cleere and brightsome dase, I see . . . cloud appeare That . . . sunne Before he gaine his . . . beames Q* 7-9 *I mean . . . with us* 53, 54 *I mean those powers which the Queen hath got in Frãce Are landed, and meane once more to menace vs Q.* 10-13 *Clar A little gale . . . a storm*] omitted Q. 14-17 *The queen . . . If she . . . breathe . . . Her . . . ours*] 55-57 *Oxford and Summerset are fled to her, And tis likehe if she . . . breath, Her . . . ours Q* 18, 19 *We . . . Tewksbury*] 58, 59 *We . . . towards Tewksburie Q.* 20 *We . . . field*] omitted Q

and *Bethsabe* (464 and 466), though nowhere else in Shakespeare. But it was long in use "Bigboned" is also in *Soliman and Perseda*, and in *Me-nechmus*, v 1 With "bigboned" compare "burly boned" (2 *Henry VI* iv x 57) The second act of *Tamburlaine*, Part I begins, "Thus far are we towards Theridamas"

6 *attain*] Used transitively again in *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Lucrece*, 781. For the last passage see quotation at "noontide prick," above, I. iv 34

7 *I mean*] See above, iv vi. 51

10 *A little gale*] Compare *Faerie Queene*, III iv. 10 "At last blow up some gentle gale of ease" See this use in *Taming of Shrew*, I ii 48, and *Tempest*, v 1 314. Wind now a high wind

10 *disperse that cloud*] Compare Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (III xiv 97, Boas) "*Disperce those clouds and melanchollie lookes.*"

14 *thirty thousand*] Commynes said forty thousand See extract at line 31, last scene

15. *Oxford*] See below, v v 2.

20, 21 *We, having now Barnet field, Will thither straight*] Commynes continues exactly as here "So soone as King Edward had obtained this victory, he marched incontinent against the Prince of Wales, where another cruell battell was fought (Tewkesbury) for the Princes forces was greater than the Kings, notwithstanding the lot of the victorie fell to the King" (p 89, Danett) In Hall's account much time and change of scene is expended before Queen Margaret and Prince Edward meet the King at Tewkesbury. Tewkesbury was pressed on, against her will, by Somerset She had taken sanctuary "at Beaulieu in Hamshire" with Prince Edward "for the wealth and conseruacion of her one uell the Prince her sonne" She was completely cowed and disheartened by Barnet field.

Will thither straight, for willingness rids way,  
 And, as we march, our strength will be augmented  
 In every county as we go along  
 Strike up the drum! cry "Courage!" and away  
[Flourish    Exeunt]

SCENE IV — *Plains near Tewksbury.*

*March*    *Enter Queen MARGARET, Prince EDWARD, SOMERSET, OXFORD, and Soldiers*

*Q. Mar* Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,  
 But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.  
 What though the mast be now blown overboard,  
 The cable broke, the holding-anchor lost,

21-24. *Will . . . for . . . way, And . . . away* [60-65. *Thither will we, for . . . wate, And in euerie countie as we passe along Our strengthes shall be augmented. Come lets goe, for if we slacke this faire Bright Summers daze, sharpe winter Showers will marre our hope for haue* (See IV. VIII. 60, 61.) *Ex. Omnes Q*

SCENE IV.

*Enter . . . ] Enter the Queene, . . . Oxford and Summerset, with drum and souldiers Q* 1-13 *Great lords . . . Say Warwick . . . that* 1-5 *Welcome to England my louing friends of Frāce, And welcome Summerset, and Oxford too Once more haue we spread our sailes abroad, And though our tackling be almost consumde And Warwike as our maine mast overthrowne Q.*

But of all this (Hall, pp. 297, 298) there is no word here. Her behaviour was not in accordance with Shakespeare's "manly woman," and he models her accordingly in her first speech—one of the finest of her many great utterances.

21. *rids way*] annihilates or destroys the journey, drives away the road. Peele uses the same phrase "My game is quick and rids a length of ground" (*Arraignment of Paris*, Act III. (1584)). Craig quotes from Cotgrave (1611) "Semelles, & du vin passent chemin Prov. Wine is the footman's caroché, a strong foot and a light head *rid way* apace" The French expression was proverbial.

22. *augmented*] After this word Q has three lines (containing "come lets goe") obviously misplaced. They are set back to the end of IV. VIII. 60, 61 in the present text. For "come lets goe," see above at close of I. II. And 2 *Henry VI.* at end of II. II, IV, etc.

SCENE IV.

1 *Q. Mar* Great lords . . . ] "When the Queene was come to Tewkesbury,

and knewe that Kyng Edward followed her . . . she was sore abashed and wonderfully amased and determined in her selfe to flye into Wales to Jasper erle of Pembroke. But the Duke of Somerset, willing in no wyse to flye . . . determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should send . . . When all these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Queene and her sonne prince Edward rode about the field, encouraging their souldiers promising to them (if they did shew them selfe valyaunt) greate rewardes . . . boote . . . and renoune" (Hall, p. 300). From this last paragraph Shakespeare takes his cue. The development from Q here is a complete swamping of the old text.

4 *holding-anchor*] Compare Peele, *Honour of the Order of the Garter* — "great Machabee  
 Last anchor-hold and stay of  
 Iacob's race"

(1593) I imagine Shakespeare meant the last anchor that held. For the ship splits, Schmidt says confidently "sheet anchor," which must be wrong. Ad-

And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood , 5  
 Yet lives our pilot still : is't meet that he  
 Should leave the helm and like a fearful lad  
 With tearful eyes add water to the sea,  
 And give more strength to that which hath too much ;  
 Whiles in his moan the ship splits on the rock , 10  
 Which industry and courage might have saved ?  
 Ah ! what a shame, ah ! what a fault were this.  
 Say Warwick was our anchor , what of that ?  
 And Montague our topmast , what of him ?  
 Our slaughter'd friends the tackles , what of these ? 15  
 Why, is not Oxford here another anchor ?  
 And Somerset another goodly mast ?  
 The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings ?  
 And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I  
 For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge ? 20  
 We will not from the helm to sit and weep,  
 But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,  
 From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck  
 As good to chide the waves as speak them fair  
 And what is Edward but a ruthless sea ? 25  
 What Clarence but a quicksand of deceit ?  
 And Richard but a ragged fatal rock ?  
 All these the enemies to our poor bark.  
 Say you can swim , alas ! 'tis but a while :  
 Tread on the sand ; why, there you quickly sink : 30

14-23 *And Montague . . . with wreck*] 6-11 *Yet warlike Lords raise you that sturdie post, That beares the sailes to bring vs unto rest, And Ned and I as willing Pilots should For once with carefull mundes guide on the sterne, To beare vs through that dangerous gulfe That heretofore hath swallowed vp our friends* Q. 25-38. *And what is . . . lament or fear*] omitted Q

miral Smith has no such term in his Dictionary, nor is there any recognition of the term (except as here) in *New English Dictionary*, nor in Captain Smith's *Accidence for Young Seamen*. The hyphen (like many others) would be better erased.

8, 9 *tearful eyes . . . too much*] The Irving Shakespeare quotes *As You Like It*, II. i. 46-49 "weeping into the needless stream . . . giving thy sum of more To that which had too much" I have no other example (early) of "tearful." See also *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 138.

16. *Oxford*] was not at Tewkesbury See below, v. 2.

18. *The friends of France*] Margaret has "my loving friend of France" in her first line (Q).

23 *shelves*] shoaly places, sandbanks Again in *Lucrece*, 335. Greene has it several times "Ile fetch from Albia *shelues* of Margarites" (*A looking glasse*, etc. (Grosart, xiv. 11)). And "suffer shipwrack on a *shelve*" (*Selinus* (xiv. 257)). And elsewhere.

26 *quicksand of deceit*] The earliest example of this familiar use in *New Eng Dict.*

27 *ragged . . . rock*] See Part II. III. ii. 98 (note). See also *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 121 The Folios here read "raged." Corrected by Rowe.

Bestride the rock ; the tide will wash you off,  
 Or else you famish ; that's a threefold death.  
 This speak I, lords, to let you understand,  
 If case some one of you would fly from us  
 That there's no hoped-for mercy with the brothers 35  
 More than with ruthless waves, with sands and rocks  
 Why, courage then ! what cannot be avoided  
 'Twere childish weakness to lament or fear.

*Prince* Methinks a woman of this valiant spirit  
 Should, if a coward heard her speak these words, 40  
 Infuse his breast with magnanimity,  
 And make him, naked, foil a man at arms.  
 I speak not this as doubting any here,  
 For did I but suspect a fearful man,  
 He should have leave to go away betimes, 45  
 Lest in our need he might infect another,  
 And make him of like spirit to himself  
 If any such be here, as God forbid !  
 Let him depart before we need his help.

*Oxf* Women and children of so high a courage, 50  
 And warriors faint ! why, 'twere perpetual shame  
 O brave young prince ! thy famous grandfather  
 Doth live again in thee long may'st thou live  
 To bear his image and renew his glories !

39-42 *Methinks a woman . . . man at arms*] omitted Q 43-49 *I speak . . . his help*] 12-21. *Prince*. And if there be, as God forbid there should, Amongst vs a timorous or fearefull man, let him depart before the battells ronne, Least he in time of need intise another, And so withdraw the souldiers harts from vs I will not stand aloofe and bid you fight, But with my sword presse in the thickest thronges, And single Edward from his strongest guard, And hand to hand enforce him for to yeeld, Or leave my bodie as witnesse of my thoughts Q 50-54. *Women . . . a courage . . . famous . . . and . . . glories*] 22-27 *Women . . . resolute noble . . . And to renew his glories* Q (lines arranged variously in Quartos)

34. *If case*] Unhappily altered to "In case" by many editors, after F 4 It was a recognised use, and occurs a number of times in Peele's *Sir Clyomon* (probably his earliest effort), as at 498, a, and 529, a, in Dyce It is also in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (II. i 58) "If case it lye in me to tell the truth" 41 *magnanimity*] Only here in Shakespeare It occurs in the second and third books of *Faerie Queene*, and a couple of times in Peele

42. *naked, foil a man at arms*] Compare 2 *Henry VI.* III. ii 234

45-49. *He should . . . Let him depart*] Craig compares the prince's words here with those of his grandfather,

Henry V, before Agincourt (*Henry V.* IV. III 35-37)

49 *Let him depart*] After the counterpart of these lines in Q the prince's bragging utterance in four lines (in Q) is very wisely omitted, whoever wrote it. For the verb "single," see II. IV. above, where Shakespeare twice uses it. But the lines are of the order of stock property in mock heroics of the time More like Greene's than the rest (*cf.* "for to") "Thickest throng" occurs in Kyd's *Cornelia*, V. I. 184, where Bellona runs up and down See also in *Contention* at the end, and above in this Q, at II. III 16.

54. *image*] likeness.

*Som* And he that will not fight for such a hope, 55  
Go home to bed, and like the owl by day,  
If he arise, be mock'd and wonder'd at.

*Q Mar.* Thanks, gentle Somerset · sweet Oxford, thanks  
*Prince.* And take his thanks that yet hath nothing else

*Enter a Messenger*

*Mess.* Prepare you, lords, for Edward is at hand, 60  
Ready to fight, therefore be resolute

*Oxf* I thought no less: it is his policy  
To haste thus fast, to find us unprovided.

*Som.* But he's deceived, we are in readiness.

*Q Mar* This cheers my heart to see your forwardness. 65

*Oxf* Here pitch our battle, hence we will not budge

*Flourish and march Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE,  
GLOUCESTER, and forces*

*K Edw* Brave followers, yonder stands the thorny wood,  
Which, by the heavens' assistance and your strength,

55-57 *And he wonder'd at]* 28-30 *And he that turnes and flies when such  
do fight, Let him to bed, and like the Owle by date Be hyst, and wondered at if he  
arise* *Q* 58, 59 *Thanks nothing else]* omitted *Q.* 60, 61 *Enter* .  
*Mess Prepare . . . resolute]* 31, 32. *Enter . . . Mes. My Lords, Duke Edward  
with a mighty power, Is marching hitherwards to fight with you* *Q.* 62, 63  
*I thought unprovided]* 33, 34. *I thought it was his policie, to take vs  
unprovided, But here will we stand and fight it to the death* *Q* 64-66 *But  
he's . . . not budge]* omitted *Q* (see Oxford's last line) 67 *Enter . . . Glou-  
cester, and forces]* 35 *Enter . . . Glo. Hast and Souldiers* *Q* 67-72 *Brave  
. . . yonder . . . by . . . and to it, lords']* 35-37 *See brothers, yonder . . .  
by Gods assistance and your prowessse, Shall with our swords yer ere* *Qq* 2, 3)  
*might be cleane cut downe* *Q*

56, 57 *owl by day . . . mock'd]* This is twice in Golding's Ovid's *Metamorphoses* "The wicked wretch Nyctymenee . . . The beast is now become a bird . . . she dares not come in sight, Nor shewe hir selfe abroad a dayes . . . and everie other burde Doth in the Ayre and Iwie toddes with wondring at hir girde" (ii 742-752) And again "They flockt about him like as when a sort of birds haue found An Owle a day tymes in a tod" (xi 25, 26)

66. *Here pitch our battle]* This should historically be spoken by Somerset, who "fixed in a fayre parke, adioynynge to the towne, he pyched his felde agaynst the will and content of many other Capitaynes which would that he

would haue drawn aside for a while tyl therle of Pembroke with hys armye were with hym associate" (Hall, p 300) The expression here means "arrange our army for the conflict" Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, Part II iii 1 (54, a) "Our battle then, in martial manner pitched, . . . shall bear The figure of the semicircled moon"

67 *thorny wood]* See above, iii. ii 174 *And Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii 59 Marlowe uses it of troops "As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood" (*Tamburlaine*, Part I iv 1 (25, b). Probably a pine wood is intended See the diagrams of ranks of pikes in White-horne's translation of Machiavel's *Art of War* (1560)

Must by the roots be hewn up yet ere night  
 I need not add more fuel to your fire, 70  
 For well I wot ye blaze to burn them out.  
 Give signal to the fight, and to it, lords !

Q. *Mar* Lords, knights and gentlemen, what I should say  
 My tears gainsay, for every word I speak,  
 Ye see, I drink the water of mine eyes. 75  
 Therefore, no more but this Henry, your sovereign,  
 Is prisoner to the foe ; his state usurp'd,  
 His realm a slaughter-house, his subjects slain,  
 His statutes cancell'd, and his treasure spent,  
 And yonder is the wolf that makes this spoil. 80  
 You fight in justice · then in God's name, lords,  
 Be valiant, and give signal to the fight

[*Alarum Retreat Excursions Exeunt.*]

73-76. *Lords . . . Henry, your sovereign*] 38-41 *Lords . . . game saie, for as you see, I drinke . . . eyes. Then no . . . Henry your King* Q. 77-79. *Is prisoner . . . spent*] 41½-43½, *is prisoner In the tower, his land and all our friendes Are quite distrest* Q. 80-82. *And yonder . . . fight*] 43½-46 *and yonder standes The Wolfe that makes all this, Then on Gods name Lords together cry Saint George. All Saint George for Lancaster* Q

70 *add . . . fuel to your fire*] A standard phrase. It occurs in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, III. x. 74, 75 (Boas). Indeed it may be regarded as a quotation here from it "That were to *adde more fewell to your fire* Who burnt like Ætne for Andreas losse." See also Greene (and Peele), *Selimus* (l. 490) "My lenity *adds fuel to his fire*"

75. *mine eyes*] Capell inserted this change from Folio reading, "my eye"  
 78 *slaughter-house*] See note in 2 *Henry VI.* III. i. 212. It is not in Q there, nor is it here. ut at IV. III. 5 it is in Q (*Contention*) used by a butcher. Kyd used it (but later) in *Soliman and Perseda*. It is in *Arden of Feversham*. Shakespeare uses it in *Lucrece*, *King John*, and *Richard III*

79 *His statutes cancell'd, and his*

*treasure spent*] In his third year (Hall, p. 262) King Edward, "beyng clerely out of doubt . . . fyrst of all, folowyng the old auncient adage which saith that the husbandman ought first to tast of the new growē frute . . . distributed the possessions of suche as toke parte with Kyng Henry the vi. . . The lawes of the realme, in parte he reformed and in parte he newly augmented." But King Henry, in his second reign, proclaimed Edward traitor, "all his possessions were confiscate. . . More-over all thinges decreed, enacted and done by Kyng Edward were abrogated" (*Polydore Vergil*, p. 134, Camden Soc.). So that sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and Margaret had no unfair treatment.



SCENE V.—*Another part of the field*

*Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, CLARENCE, GLOUCESTER, and Soldiers, with Queen MARGARET, OXFORD, and SOMERSET, prisoners.*

*K. Edw* Now here a period of tumultuous broils  
Away with Oxford to Hames castle straight  
For Somerset, off with his guilty head.  
Go, bear them hence, I will not hear them speak

*Oxf.* For my part, I'll not trouble thee with words. 5

*Som.* Nor I; but stoop with patience to my fortune  
[*Exeunt Oxford and Somerset, guarded*

*Q. Mar* So part we sadly in this troublous world,  
To meet with joy in sweet Jerusalem

*K. Edw.* Is proclamation made, that who finds Edward  
Shall have a high reward, and he his life? 10

*Glou.* It is and lo! where youthful Edward comes

*Enter Soldiers, with Prince EDWARD*

*K Edw* Bring forth the gallant · let us hear him speak  
What! can so young a thorn begin to prick?

SCENE V *Flourish Enter . . .* ] *Ff* (prisoners omitted), *Alar mes to the battell, Yorke flies then the chambers be discharged Then enter the King, Cla. Glo & the rest, & make a great shout and crye, for Yorke for Yorke, and then the Queene is taken, & the prince, & Oxf & Sum and then sound and enter all againe* Q 1-4 *Now here . . . Go . . . I . . . speak* 47-50. *Lo here . . . Awaie I . . . speake* Q 5, 6 *For . . . words . . . fortune* 51, 52 *For words. Exit Oxford Nor death Exit Sum 7, 8 So Jerusa- lem omitted Q 9-13 Is proclamation . . . to prick ?* omitted Q.

1 *tumultuous broils*] See Part I 1  
111 70, and Part II. 111 11 239 Com-  
pare *Faerie Queene*, II vii. 21 —

"By that wayes side there sate in-  
ternall Payne,  
And fast beside him sat tumultuous  
Strife"

2 *Away with Oxford to Hames castle*] John, Earl of Oxford, escaped from Barnet but did not join Margaret (v. 111 15). Polydore Vergil says (Camden, p 158) "Also the king found meanes to coom by John Erle of Oxford, who not long after the discomfytur receayed at Barnet fled into Cornewall, and both tooke and kept Saint Mychaels Mount, and sent him to a castle beyond Sea cauldy Hammes (Calais), where he was kept prysoner more than xii yeres after."

7, 8. *So part we . . . Jerusalem*] This is an extraordinarily ineffective and unsuitable remark. Is it meant to portray her complete downfall? She is more like herself below. These words are not in Q, and seem to belong to some other situation Margaret's father was "King of Naples, Sicilia and Jerusalem" (Part II i. 1. 48), if that is any assistance The next two speeches are also omitted in Q

9 *Is proclamation made*] See below at "Take that," 1 38

13. *so young a thorn . . . prick*] An old saying "Early sharp that will be thorn" (*Nice Wanton* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, II. 161), 1560). "Young doth it prick, that will be a thorn" (*Jacob and Esau*, (Hazlitt's Dodsley, II. 196, 234), 1568). Lyly, *Endymion*, III. 1. It is in John

- Edward, what satisfaction canst thou make  
 For bearing arms, for stirring up my subjects, 15  
 And all the trouble thou hast turn'd me to ?  
*Prince.* Speak like a subject, proud ambitious York.  
 Suppose that I am now my father's mouth.  
 Resign thy chair, and where I stand kneel thou,  
 Whilst I propose the self-same words to thee, 20  
 Which, traitor, thou would'st have me answer to.  
*Q. Mar.* Ah, that thy father had been so resolv'd !  
*Glou.* That you might still have worn the petticoat,  
 And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster  
*Prince.* Let Æsop fable in a winter's night ; 25  
 His currish riddles sort not with this place  
*Glou.* By heaven, brat, I'll plague ye for that word.  
*Q. Mar.* Ay, thou wast born to be a plague to men  
*Glou.* For God's sake, take away this captive scold.  
*Prince.* Nay, take away this scolding crook-back rather 30

14-16 *Edward, what . . . me to ?*] 53, 54 *Now Edward what make*  
*for stirring up my subjects to rebellion ?* Q 17-21 *Speak . . . answer to*  
 55-59 *Speak . . . answers to Q* 22-30 *Ah, that . . . crook-back rather*  
 60-69 *Oh that . . . kept your Petticote . . . plague ye . . . Crookitbacke rather Q*

Heywood (Sharman's ed. p. 159), 1549  
 "It pricketh betimes that will be a  
 good thorne" Montaigne says (Florio)  
 "They say in Dauphine—

"Si l'espine non picque quand nai,  
 A peine que picque jamai"  
 (end of the first Book of Essays)

16. *And . . . turn'd me to ?*] Malone  
 says here "This line was one of Shake-  
 speare's additions to the original play."  
 We have almost the same words in *The*  
*Tempest* "To think o' the teen that I  
 have turn'd you to" (i. ii 64) Schmidt  
 gives several other examples in Shake-  
 speare ("to put to"). None so blind as  
 Malone when he will not see

17 *proud ambitious York*] See above,  
 iii. iii. 27 And see note at "proud  
 insulting" (i. ii 138, Part I.). Kyd  
 often turns these or like words the other  
 way. He has "ambitious proud" in  
*Spanish Tragedy*, and "tyrannous  
 proud" in *Cornelia* I make use of  
 Mr Crawford's admirable concordance  
 here "Proud insulting" is in *Soliman*  
 and *Perseda* (from Shakespeare) at v  
 iii 59, in Boas' arrangement

18. *father's mouth*] So in *Coriolanus*,  
 iii. i. 271 "The noble tribunes are the  
 people's mouths." Used as if meaning  
 "representative."

23, 24. *petticoat . . . breech*] See 2

*Henry VI. i. iii* 145 and note "Breech"  
 means "breeches" Nowhere else in  
 Shakespeare, but there also applied to  
 Margaret.

25 *Æsop*] Johnson (a most unlucky  
 commentator) says "The prince calls  
 Richard, for his crookedness, *Æsop*,  
 and the poet, following nature, makes  
 Richard highly incensed at the re-  
 proach." This is all astray I feel con-  
 vinced "That word" that incensed  
 the king was "currish" Æsop is in-  
 troduced on his proper merits Several  
 commentators (Marshall, Rolfe) accept  
 Johnson's far-fetched conjecture. How-  
 ever, they can have it as a second aid.  
 Æsop is said to have been deformed  
 See Introduction for a parallel reference  
 to Æsop from *Two Angry Women of*  
*Abingdon* (ante 1589).

26 *His currish riddles*] Gloucester's  
 predilection for proverbial illustration  
 is here enforced

26. *currish*] Golding has "The *currish*  
 Helhounds Cerberus" (Ovid's *Meta-*  
*morphoses*, vii 524, 1567). Spenser  
 uses the word in *Mother Hubberds*  
*Tale* (Globe, 523, b) "crueltie the  
 signe of *currish* kind." Often in  
 Greene

30. *crook-back*] Twice before in this  
 play (i. iv 75, ii. ii. 96), but only in

*K. Edw* Peace, wilful boy, or I will charm your tongue

*Clar* Untutor'd lad, thou art too malapert

*Prince* I know my duty; you are all undutiful.

Lascivious Edward, and thou perjured George,

And thou misshapen Dick, I tell ye all

35

I am your better, traitors as ye are,

And thou usurp'st my father's right and mine.

*K Edw.* Take that, the likeness of this railer here

[*Stabs him*

*Glou* Sprawl'st thou? take that, to end thy agony

[*Stabs him*

*Clar* And there's for twitting me with perjury

40

[*Stabs him*

31-36 *Peace* . . . *charm* . . . *malapert* . . . *ye all* . . . *as ye are*] 70-75.  
*Peace* . . . *tame* . . . *malapert* . . . *you all* . . . *as you be* Q 37. *And thou*  
. . . *mine*] omitted Q 38 *Take* . . . *the likeness* . . . *here*] 76 *take*  
. . . *the lynes* . . . *here* Q (*lignes* Q 2, *thou likeness* Q 3). 39, 40.  
*Sprawl'st* . . . *perjury*] omitted Q

this play It has occurred already in *The Contention*, Act v, where, however, it is replaced by "stigmatic" in Part II. *New Eng Dict.* quotes Fabyan's Chronicle, 1494

31. *charm your tongue*] silence you. See *Othello*, v. ii 183, and note, in this edition See *Henry VI* iv. i 64. Qq have "tame," and the change is significant

32. *Untutor'd*] See "untutor'd churl" (*Henry VI*. iii. ii. 213) Boorish

32. *malapert*] saucy. Shakespeare uses it again in *Richard III*. i. iii 255 "you are *malapert*." Greene has the word a few times. Golding uses "malepertness."

38. *Take that*] Hall describes this murder "After the felde ended, Kyng Edward made a Proclamation that who so euer could bring prince Edward to him alyve or dead, shoulde have an annuite of an C l during his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued Sir Richard Croftes, a wyse and valyaunt knight, nothing mistrusting . . . brought furth his prisoner prince Edward . . . Kyng Edward . . . demaunded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realme with banner displayed. The prince . . . answered sayenge, to recover my fathers kingdome & enheritage. . . . At which wordes Kyng Edward sayd nothyng, but with his hand thrust hym from hym (or as some say,

stroke hym with his gauntlet), whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William lord Hastynges, sodaynly murdered & piteously manquelled . . . His body was homely enterred . . . in Tewkesburye. This was the last ciuile battayl . . . in kynge Edwards dayes, whiche was gotten the iii daye of Maye . . . Mcccc.lxxi. . . . And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond duke of Somerset . . . and xii other . . . beheaded in the market-place at Tewkesbury" (p 301)

38 *the likeness*] So in Qq i and 2; and in Ff. Rowe changed to "thou" from Q 3. Not necessary.

39. *Sprawl'st*] Used only once again in a similar sense (death agony) in *Titus Andronicus*, v. i 51 "First hang the child that he may see it sprawl" Compare Nashe and Marlowe, *Dido* (Grosart, vi 30) "We saw Cassandra sprauling in the streetes Whom Ajax ravisht in Dianas Fane" And see Nashe's description of "a wonderful spectacle of bloud shed" in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 45).

40. *twitting me with*] See Part I iii. ii 55 and Part II iii. i. 178 and note in Part I. Elsewhere only in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. ii. 8 "She twits me with my falsehood to my friend."

*Q. Mar* O, kill me too !

*Glou* Marry, and shall [Offers to kill her.]

*K Edw* Hold, Richard, hold ! for we have done too much.

*Glou.* Why should she live, to fill the world with words ?

*K Edw.* What ! doth she swoon ? use means for her recovery. 45

*Glou.* Clarence, excuse me to the king my brother ;

I'll hence to London on a serious matter .

Ere ye come there, be sure to hear some news

*Clar.* What ? what ?

*Glou* The Tower ! the Tower ! [Exit. 50

*Q Mar.* O Ned, sweet Ned ! speak to thy mother, boy !

Canst thou not speak ? O traitors ! murderers !

They that stabb'd Cæsar shed no blood at all,

Did not offend, nor were not worthy blame,

If this foul deed were by to equal it . 55

He was a man , this, in respect, a child ,

And men ne'er spend their fury on a child.

What's worse than murderer, that I may name it ?

No, no , my heart will burst an if I speak ;

And I will speak, that so my heart may burst. 60

Butchers and villains ! bloody cannibals !

How sweet a plant have you untimely cropp'd .

41-45. O, kill . . . much . . . swoon ? use . . . recovery] 77-82. Oh kill . . . much already . . . swoon ? make . . . recovery Q. 46-48 Clarence . . . I'll hence . . . ye come . . . news] 83-85. Clarence . . . I must . . . you come there, you shall hear more news Q. 49, 50. What . . . Tower] 85, 86. About what, prethe tell me ? Glo The Tower man, the Tower, He root them out. Exit Gloucester Q. 51-53. O Ned . . . They . . . at all] 87-90. Ah Ned, speake . . . boy ? ah Thou canst not speake. Traytors, Tyrants bloudie Homicides, They . . . at all Q. 54, 55. Did not . . . equal it] omitted Q. 56-58 He was . . . murderer . . . name it] 91-93. For he was . . . tyrant . . . name, Q (may not name Q 3). 59-62. No, no . . . cropp'd] omitted Q.

42. Marry, and shall] See 2 Henry VI. i. ii 88, and note. Occurs in *Spanish Tragedy*. Shakespeare has it again in 1 Henry IV. v. ii 34 and in Richard III. iii. iv 36. In Q here, but not in Part II.

44. fill the world with words] Compare Part I. ii ii 43. "Whose glory fills the world with loud report." And later in the same play, at v. iv 35. A continuity of authorship expression (like that at l. 40) of which we have so many in these plays. In the iv Prologue, l. 3 of Henry V., this phrase is poetically varied. "Fills the wide vessel of the universe."

50. The . . . Tower] Theobald inserted "I'll root'em out" here from Q. But Shakespeare omitted it

53. They that stabb'd Cæsar] This line was suggested by the line in Q, omitted at v. i. 80.

62. How sweet . . . cropp'd] Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy*, ii. v. 47 (Boas) "Sweet lovely Rose, ill pluckt before thy time." That this is not a mere coincidence is rendered more probable by the appearance of the first three words in 1 Henry IV. i. iii. 175 "To put down Richard, that sweet lovely rose." The line may have passed into familiar use, like so many in the

You have no children, butchers ! if you had,  
 The thought of them would have stirr'd up remorse  
 But if you ever chance to have a child, 65  
 Look in his youth to have him so cut off  
 As, deathsmen, you have rid this sweet young prince !

*K. Edw* Away with her ! go, bear her hence perforce.

*Q. Mar.* Nay, never bear me hence, dispatch me here  
 Here sheathe thy sword, I 'll pardon thee my death. 70  
 What ! wilt thou not ? then, Clarence, do it thou.

*Clar.* By heaven, I will not do thee so much ease

*Q. Mar* Good Clarence, do ; sweet Clarence, do thou do it

*Clar.* Didst thou not hear me swear I would not do it ?

*Q. Mar.* Ay, but thou usest to forswear thyself 75  
 'Twas sin before, but now 'tis charity

What ! wilt thou not ? Where is that devil's butcher,  
 Hard-favour'd Richard ? Richard, where art thou ?

Thou art not here murder is thy alms-deed ;

Petitioners for blood thou ne'er put'st back 80

*K Edw* Away, I say ! I charge ye, bear her hence

*Q. Mar* So come to you and yours, as to this prince ! [*Exit*

*K Edw* Where's Richard gone ?

63-67. You . . . butchers . . . would . . . But . . . chance . . . child . . . deathsmen . . . rid . . . prince] 94-98 You . . . Devils . . . would then have stopt your rage, But . . . hope . . . sonne . . . Traitors . . . doone . . . prince Q. 68-72. Away . . . perforce . . . death. What . . . do it thou . . . will not . . . ease] 99-104. Awake, and beare her hence Queen Naynere . . . death. Wilt . . . Clarence, doe thou doe it ? . . . would not . . . ease Q. 73-76 Good . . . do thou . . . Didst . . . do it . . . charity] 105-108 Good . . . kill me too. Cla Didst . . . charity Q. 77-80 What . . . Where is that . . . Thou art . . . thy . . . thou . . . put'st back] 109-112. Whears the . . . He is . . . his . . . he nere put backe Q. 81, 82 Away . . . So . . . prince] 113, 114 Awake I sae and take her hence perforce Queen So . . . prince. Ex Q. 83-85. Where's . . . post, and . . . Tower] 115-117. Clarence, whithers Gloster gone ? Cla. Marrie my Lord to London, and . . . Tower Q.

former epoch-making play For the sentiment, see again in *Richard II* v. 11. 51. Probably as old as poetry. Boas notices the parallels here See earlier in *Faerie Queene*, II. 1. 41 "fiers fate did crop the blossome of his age."

63. *You have no children, butchers]* Similarly in *Macbeth*, IV. 11. 216, Macduff says "He has no children. All my pretty ones ? Did you say all ?" Blackstone pointed out this parallel

67. *deathsmen]* executioners See *Henry VI.* III. 11. 217, *Lear*, IV. VI. 263; *Lucrece*, 1006. A favourite word of Greene's and not known before he used it. One of the *casus belli* perhaps

67. *rid]* cut off, destroyed See *Henry VI.* III. 1. 233, *Richard II.* V. IV. 11. A word used with much latitude by Shakespeare "Ridding a place" is in common use for clearing every rubbish, weeds, etc., away from it, in Ireland. Freeing from, getting rid of.

78 *Hard-favour'd]* Often in Shakespeare. Very ugly, repulsive See *I Henry VI.* IV. VII. 23 "hard-favour'd death." Peele uses it in the *Old Wives Tale* (quoted in Part I) But it is part of Hall's description of Richard, quoted at v. v. 53

79. *alms-deed]* act of charity Not again in Shakespeare. In early use.

*Clar* To London, all in post, and, as I guess,  
 To make a bloody supper in the Tower 85  
*K. Edw* He's sudden if a thing comes in his head  
 Now march we hence discharge the common sort  
 With pay and thanks, and let's away to London  
 And see our gentle queen how well she fares  
 By this, I hope, she hath a son for me. 90  
 [Exeunt]

## SCENE VI — London. The Tower

*Enter King HENRY and GLOUCESTER, with the Lieutenant, on the walls.*

*Glou* Good day, my lord What! at your book so hard?  
*K. Hen.* Ay, my good lord. my lord, I should say rather,  
 'Tis sin to flatter, good was little better  
 Good Gloucester and good devil were alike,  
 And both preposterous, therefore, not good lord 5  
*Glou* Sirrah, leave us to ourselves we must confer.

[Exit Lieutenant.]

*K. Hen.* So flies the reckless shepherd from the wolf,  
 So first the harmless sheep doth yield his fleece,

86-90. *He's* . . . *head* . . . *sort* *With pay* . . . *let's* . . . *And see* . . . *how*  
 . . . *By this* . . . *me*] 118-122. *He is* . . . *comes* . . . *head* *Well, discharge*  
 . . . *souldiers with pay* . . . *now let us towards London, To see* . . . *how shee*  
*doth fare, For by this* . . . *vs. Exeunt Omnes Q*

## SCENE VI.

*Enter . . . ] Enter Henry the sixth and Richard, with . . . Ff, Enter*  
*Gloster to King Henry in the Tower Q.* 1-4 *Good day, my lord* . . . *alike*] 1-4. *Good day* . . . *Lord* . . . *all alike Q* 5-9 *And both* . . . *butcher's knife* omitted Q.

84. *all in post*] in post haste  
 86. *sudden*] impulsive, prompt Fre-  
 quent in Shakespeare.

## SCENE VI.

1, 2 *Gloucester* . . . *K. Hen*] This scene, the murder of Henry, bears the historic date May 21 or May 22, 1471. That puts it at a fortnight later than Tewkesbury (May 4), in which interval King Edward quelled the bastard Falconbridge's rising of Kentishmen under the pretence of freeing Henry, but in reality to kill and spoil. When this was performed "Poore Kyng Henry the sixte, a little before deprived of his realme and Imperiall Crowne, was now,

in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) which, to thintent that Kyng Edward his brother should be clere out of all secret suspicion of sodan inuasion murdered the said king with a dagger" (Hall, p. 303) Polydore Vergil says a sword Halliwell quotes from Warkworth and other contemporaries, with the remark, "the account (in *True Tragedie*) of Henry's murder is not in all probability far from the truth." One writer asserted Henry died of pure displeasure and melancholy

7-9. *shepherd* . . . *wolf* . . . *sheep*  
 . . . *butcher's knife*] Poor Henry at

And next his throat unto the butcher's knife  
 What scene of death hath Roscius now to act? 10  
*Glou.* Suspicion always haunts the guilty mind,  
 The thief doth fear each bush an officer  
*K. Hen.* The bird that hath been limed in a bush,  
 With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush,  
 And I, the hapless male to one sweet bird, 15  
 Have now the fatal object in my eye  
 Where my poor young was limed, was caught, and killed  
*Glou.* Why, what a peevish fool was that of Crete,  
 That taught his son the office of a fowl!  
 And yet, for all his wings, the fool was drown'd 20  
*K. Hen.* I, Dædalus, my poor boy, Icarus;  
 Thy father, Minos, that denied our course,  
 The sun that sear'd the wings of my sweet boy,  
 Thy brother Edward, and thyself the sea  
 Whose envious gulf did swallow up his life 25  
 Ah! kill me with thy weapon, not with words.

10, 11 *What . . . the guilty mind*] 5, 6 *What . . . Roscius a guiltie*  
*mind Q.* 12 *The thief . . . officer*] omitted Q 13-17 *The bird . . . bush,*  
*With . . . And I . . . sweet . . . my eye . . . and killed*] 7-10 *The birde*  
*once limde doth feare the fatall bush, And I . . . poore . . . mine etc, where*  
*. . . & kild Q* 18-20 *Why . . . peevish fool . . . fowl . . . for all*  
*drown'd*] 11-14. *Why . . . foole . . . birde, and yet for all that the poore Fowle*  
*was drownde Q.* 21-28 *I, Dædalus, . . . boy . . . course, . . . thy dagger's*  
*. . . history*] 15-20. *I Dedalus . . . sonne . . . course, Thy brother Edward,*  
*the sunne that searde his wings, And thou the enuous gulfe that swallowed him*  
*Oh better can my brest abide thy daggers . . . historie Q.*

once pours out his Biblical similes, his book was likely enough the Book, as the Bible was usually called

10. *Roscius*] The great Roman actor (died 62 B.C.), referred to again in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 410. "*Roscius* . . . the best Histrien or buffon that was in his dayes to be found" (Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (Arber, 48)) He usually played comedy. Burbage, the Elizabethan actor, was known as Roscius, and many allusions to the fact are to be found a little later. Halliwell says here "It would, perhaps, be going out of the way to conjecture that Burbage played this part, and was called 'Roscius Richard' on that account" See Collier's *Memoirs of Alleyn* (Shakespeare Soc p. 13). Greene often refers to Roscius And Nashe See Introduction

12 *The thief . . . bush an officer*] Compare Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (Grosart, v. 173), 1594 "A theefe they say mistakes euerie bush for a true man." "A true man" was an

honest man, and "they say" is the usual cognizance of a proverb, which, from the speaker, was to be expected See again *Times Whistle*, Sat. 7, 1 3485 (1615) "takes every bush to be a constable."

13 *limed . . . bush*] See note at 2 *Henry VI* i. iii. 87 Shakespeare loved birds in or out of a cage—as he loved flowers in or out of a garden. Compare Kyd, *Spanish Tragedy* (III. iv. 41, 42, Boas) —

"he breakes the worthles  
 twigs,  
 And sees not that wherewith the  
 bird was limde"

14 *misdoubteth*] suspecteth  
 18 *peevish*] foolish

18-21 *Crete . . . Icarus*] See Part I. iv. vi. 55 and iv. vii. 16, where Talbot uses the same illustrations for his boy. The quibbling here is destroyed in Q

23 *sun*] Alluding to the cognizance of the Yorkist See above, II. vi. 9 (note).

My breast can better brook thy dagger's point  
Than can my ears that tragic history.  
But wherefore dost thou come? is 't for my life?

*Glou* Think'st thou I am an executioner? 30

*K Hen.* A persecutor, I am sure, thou art.  
If murdering innocents be executing,  
Why, then thou art an executioner.

*Glou* Thy son I kill'd for his presumption

*K. Hen* Hadst thou beer' kill'd when first thou didst  
presume, 35

Thou hadst not liv'd to kill a son of mine  
And thus I prophesy that many a thousand,  
Which now mistrust no parcel of my fear,  
And many an old man's sigh, and many a widow's,  
And many an orphan's water-standing eye, 40  
Men for their sons', wives for their husbands',  
And orphans for their parents' timeless death,  
Shall rue the hour that ever thou wast born.  
The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign,  
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time, 45

29 *But . . . life?* omitted Q 30-34 *Think'st thou I . . . art If . . . executing, Why, then thou . . . presumption* 21-25. *Why dost thou thinke I . . . art, And if . . . executions, Then I know thou . . . presumption* Q 35-37½ *Hadst thou been . . . prophesy that many* 26-29½ *Hadst thou bin . . . prophesie of thee That manie Q. 37½-39½ a thousand . . . sigh* omitted Q 39½-41 *and many a widow's . . . orphan's . . . husbands'* 29½-31 *a widow for her husbands death, And . . . infants . . . eue, Widowes for their husbands, children for their fathers, Q. 43. Shall rue . . . born* 32 *Shall curse the time that euer thou wert borne Q. 44-52. The owl shriek'd . . . goodly tree* 33-41. *The owle shrikt . . . goodly tree Q. (reading tune for time tempests discord . undigest created for indigested and deformed)*

27 *dagger's point*] See extract from (Shakespeare Library, p. 99, *The True Tragedie*) —

40. *water-standing eye*] eye flooded with tears. "Standing water" is still in use Compare "water-flowing tears" above, iv. viii. 43, when they begin to run over

42. *timeless*] untimely. See Part I v. iv. 5 (note). It occurs in Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, Part I ii. 1 (1578) "To see Andrugio tymeless dye."

43 *rue the hour*] "Tamburlaine shall rue the day, the hour Wherein" etc (*Tamburlaine*, Part I. iv. 3 (28, b)) Quoted before at "ignominious" (Part I. iv. 1 97)

44 *The owl*] See *1 Henry VI.* iv. ii. 15; and "night-owl" above, ii. 1 130 Cf. Halliwell's quotation from Chaucer

(Shakespeare Library, p. 99, *The True Tragedie*) —

"The jilous swan, ayenst hys deth that singeth,  
The owle eke, that of deth the bode bringeth"

See Vergil's *Æneid*, iv 462

45 *night-crow*] or night-raven, a bird of superstition incapable of exact identification, Nycticorax. In Spenser he is constantly night-raven (followed by Peele). In the description of Horror (*Faerie Queene*, ii vii 23) —

"And after him Owles and Night-ravens flew,  
The hatefull messengers of heauy things,  
Of death and dolor telling sad tidings."

Pliny (translated by Holland, xviii 1)



Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempest shook down trees ;  
 The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top,  
 And chattering pies in dismal discords sung  
 Thy mother felt more than a mother's pain,  
 And yet brought forth less than a mother's hope , 50  
 To wit, an indigested and deformed lump,  
 Not like the fruit of such a goodly tree  
 Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born,

53-56 *Teeth hadst thou . Thou camest*] 42-45, *Teeth hadst thou . . . that I have heard, Thou camst into the world. He stabs him Q.*

says. "Are not some men . . . well and fitly compared to those cursed foules flying in the darke, which . . . bewray their spight and enuie euen to the night" And in the tenth Book, chap xii. is devoted to "unluckie birds, and namely, the Crow, Raven and Scritch-owl." "The worst token of ill-luck that they give (Ravens), is when in their crying they seeme to swallow in their voice as though they were choked. . . . The Scritch-owle alwaies betokeneth some heaue newes . . . he is the verie monster of the night" But Pliny says he knew these things were not always true.

45. *aboding*] foreboding "Abodement" has occurred above Compare *Henry VIII* i. 1. 92-94, and the "*boding* screech owl" in *2 Henry VI* iii. 1. 327.

46. *Dogs howl'd*] Compare Golding's Ovid, xv 895 "The doggs did howle, and every where appeered gastly sprights, And with an earthquake shaken was the towne" The screech-owl appears here likewise, at the murder of *Julius Cæsar*. See note at *1 Henry VI* i. 1. 55. And see Part II i. iv. 18, 19

47. *rook'd*] Generally explained by the "north county word," "ruck," signifying to squat or settle down, to lurk in a place Steevens quotes twice from Chaucer, from Stanyhurst's Vergil, from Warner's *Albion's England*, and from Golding's Ovid —

"on the house did rucke

A cursed Owle the messenger of yll  
 successe and lucke" (vi. 555, 556). But it does not seem satisfactory. We want here a noise, a note, or a croak, such as Pliny describes "I would croak like a raven, I would bode, I would bode," says Thersites

48. *chattering pies*] The magpie is

an unlucky bird in all the northern folklore Compare the Nymphs that are turned into Pies, "the scolds of woods" that are "chattering still" at the end of the Fifth Book of Golding's Ovid.

51. *an indigested and*] So Folio i. Capell altered to the Quarto reading, "undigest created." See Part II v. 1 157 "indigested lump" (note) Compare Sonnet 114. "To wit" has been retained from Q by mistake.

53. *Teeth hadst thou . born*] Halliwell confirmed this from *Ross of Warwick* "exiens cum dentibus et capillis ad humeros" All Richard's characteristics are in Hall, p. 342-3 "Richard . . . was htle of stature, euill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge comen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull, and enuious, and it is reported, his mother the duches had much a dooe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym uncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outward [out of the world, coffined?] and as the fame ranne, not untotthed" For the "legs forward," see below, line 71. Pliny has a chapter (vii. 8) "of those that be called Agrippæ." "To be borne with the feet forward is unnatural and unkind . . . as if a man should say, Born hardly and with much adoe . . . Agrippina hath left in writing, That her sonne Nero also . . . enemie to all mankind, was borne with his feet forward" (Holland). See Nashe's *Anatomic of Absurditie* (Grosart, i 53) "preposterously borne with their feete forward" (evidently referring to Pliny, 1589).

To signify thou camest to bite the world  
 And, if the rest be true which I have heard, 55  
 Thou camest—

*Glou* I'll hear no more die, prophet, in thy speech  
 [Stabs him.]

For this, amongst the rest, was I ordain'd.

*K Hen.* Ay, and for much more slaughter after this.

O! God forgive my sins, and pardon thee. [Dies 60]

*Glou* What! will the aspiring blood of Lancaster  
 Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted  
 See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!  
 O, may such purple tears be always shed  
 From those that wish the downfall of our house! 65  
 If any spark of life be yet remaining,  
 Down, down to hell; and say I sent thee thither,  
 [Stabs him again]

57, 58 I'll hear . . . die, prophet . . . For . . . ordain'd] 46, 47 Die prophet  
 He heare . . . for . . . ordainde Q. 59, 60 Ay, and . . . pardon thee]  
 48, 49. I and . . . pardon thee. He dies Q. 61-65. What . . . in the  
 thought . . . O, may . . . shed . . . wish . . . house] 50-54 What? into  
 the . . . had thought . . . Now more . . . shed, For such as seeke . . . house Q.  
 66, 67. If . . . life . . . Down . . . thither] 55, 56 If . . . life remaine in  
 thee, Stab him againe. Downe . . . thither Q.

61, 62 *aspiring blood of Lancaster*  
 . . . mounted] Dyce, arguing that Mar-  
 lowe had a large share in the compila-  
 tion of the *Contention and True Tragedie*,  
 produced parallels of these two  
 lines from his *Edward the Second* (pp.  
 184, b, 212, b) "Frownst thou thereat,  
 aspiring Lancaster," and "highly scorn-  
 ing that the lowly earth Should drink his  
 blood, mounts up to the air." As I  
 believe the *True Tragedie* is earlier  
 than *Edward II.*, these coincidences  
 prove something else For "earth  
 drinking blood," see II. iii 15, 23 (note).  
 For "aspiring," see Part I v. iv. 99.

66. *spark of life*] Another passage, in  
*The Spanish Tragedy* "O speak if any  
 sparke of life remaine" (II. v. 17, Boas)  
 67 *Down, down . . . I sent thee*  
 Collier advanced these lines as a proof  
 that Greene wrote this play, on the  
 likeness of them, to a passage in *Al-*  
*phonsus* (Grosart, xiii. 347) —

"Go packe thou hence unto the  
 Stygian lake . . .  
 And if he ask thee who did send  
 thee downe,  
 Alphonsus say, who now must  
 weare thy crowne."

The whole point of Greene's passage is  
 that he makes Flaminius the bearer of a  
 special message, to his father, in hell.  
 The likeness is only vague. Similar  
 passages may be produced from other  
 writers Lodge in *The Wounds of*  
*Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii  
 146).—

"Go, soldiers . . .  
 Hasten their death . . .  
 Go, take them hence, and when we  
 meet in hell,  
 Then tell me, princes, if I did not  
 well"

But especially see the origin in *Faerie*  
*Queene*, I. v. 13, when the faithful knight  
 subdues his faithless foe —

"And to him said 'Goe now, proud  
 Miscreant  
 Thyselfe thy message do to ger  
 man beare . . .  
 Goe say, his foe thy shield with  
 his doth beare'.

Therewith his heaue hand," etc.  
 This is Greene's source. Shakespeare  
 probably thought of neither. Another  
 parallel will be "found in *Ferounimo*  
 (Boas' Kyd, p 323).

I, that have neither pity, love nor fear  
 Indeed, 'tis true that Henry told me of ;  
 For I have often heard my mother say 70  
 I came into the world with my legs forward.  
 Had I not reason, think ye, to make haste,  
 And seek their ruin that usurp'd our right ?  
 The midwife wonder'd, and the women cried  
 "O! Jesus bless us, he is born with teeth" 75  
 And so I was ; which plainly signified  
 That I should snarl and bite and play the dog.  
 Then, since the heavens have shaped my body so,  
 Let hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.  
 I have no brother, I am like no brother ; 80  
 And this word "love," which greybeards call divine,  
 Be resident in men like one another  
 And not in me I am myself alone.  
 Clarence, beware ; thou keep'st me from the light ;  
 But I will sort a pitchy day for thee , 85  
 For I will buzz abroad such prophecies  
 That Edward shall be fearful of his life ,  
 And then, to purge his fear, I'll be thy death.  
 King Henry and the prince his son are gone :  
 Clarence, thy turn is next, and then the rest, 90  
 Counting myself but bad till I be best.  
 I'll throw thy body in another room,  
 And triumph, Henry, in thy day of doom.

[Exit, with the body]

68-73. I, that . . . 'tis true . . . say I came . . . Had I . . . ye . . . run  
 . . . right ?] 57-62. I that . . . twas true save That I came . . . And  
 had I . . . you . . . runes . . . rights ? Q 74-77 The . . . cried .  
 was, which . . . dog] 63-66 The women wept and the midwife cride . . . was  
 indeed, which . . . dogge Q. 78-83 Then . . . my body . . . brother . .  
 brother . . . call . . . alone] 67-72. Then since Heaven hath made my bodse  
 . . . answer it. I had no father, I am like no father, I have no brothers, I am  
 like no brothers, And . . . tearme . . . alone Q. 84-88. Clarence . . . keep'st  
 . . . That Edward . . . death] 74-78 Clarence . . . keptst . . . As Edward  
 . . . death Q 89-93 King Henry the rest . . . throw . . . doom]  
 79-83. Henry and his some are gone, thou Clarence next, And by one and one  
 I will dispatch the rest . . . drag . . . doome Ext. Q

71 and 75 ] See extract at l. 53.  
 85 *sort a pitchy day*] arrange a black  
 day "Sort an hour" occurs in *Lucrece*,  
 899, not again with regard to time.  
 For "pitchy," see Part I. II. ii 2  
 86 *buzz*] See Part II. i. ii 99 and  
 above, II vi 95

91 *bad till I be best*] He is harping  
 on the old saw "bad is the best."  
 "Two evils here were, one must I chuse,  
 though bad were very best" (*Whetstone*,  
*Promos and Cassandra*, Part II III II.).  
 Whetstone has it again in *Censure of*  
*a Loyal Subject* Common later.

SCENE VII — *The same The palace.*

*Flourish. Enter King EDWARD, Queen ELIZABETH, CLARENCE, GLOUCESTER, HASTINGS, a Nurse with the young Prince, and Attendants*

*Hen.* Once more we sit in England's royal throne,  
 Re-purchas'd with the blood of enemies.  
 What valiant foemen, like to autumn's corn,  
 Have we mow'd down in tops of all their pride!  
 Three Dukes of Somerset, threefold renown'd 5  
 For hardy and undoubted champions,  
 Two Cliffords, as the father and the son;  
 And two Northumberland's two braver men  
 Ne'er spur'd their coursers at the trumpet's sound;  
 With them, the two brave bears, Warwick and Mon-  
 tague, 10  
 That in their chains fetter'd the kingly lion,  
 And made the forest tremble when they roar'd  
 Thus have we swept suspicion from our seat,  
 And made our footstool of security.  
 Come hither, Bess, and let me kiss my boy 15  
 Young Ned, for thee, thine uncles and myself  
 Have in our armours watch'd the winter's night,  
 Went all afoot in summer's scalding heat,

SCENE VII. *Flourish*] F 1, omitted Q, F 2, 3, 4. *Enter . . .* *Enter King, Queene . . . Nurse, and Attendants* Ff, *Enter . . .* (Gloucester omitted) and others Q. 1-20 *Once more . . . renown'd . . . brave bears . . . Went all afoot . . . gain*] 1-20 *Once more . . . renown'd . . . rough Beares . . . Marcht all a foote . . . gaime* Q

3, 4. *foemen . . . mow'd down*] Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, v. v  
 25 —

"the strawy Greeks, ripe for  
 his edge,  
 Fall down before him like the  
 mower's swath."  
 And *Henry V* III III 13 —

"mowing like grass  
 Your fresh-fair virgins and your  
 flowering infants"  
 And *Sonnet* 60

4. *tops of all their pride*] Lodge has  
 this: "Unhappy Rome . . . Now to  
 eclipse, in *top of all thy pride*" (*Wounds  
 of Civil War* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, vii.  
 116)).

10, 11 *bears . . . in their chains*] Alluding to the "chained beare" at the  
 stake, as in *Faerie Queene*, I xii. 35.—

"Who seeming sorely chauff'd at  
 his band,  
 As chained beare whom cruell dogs  
 doe bait."

Referred to in Part II. v i 143-150.  
 See "forest bear" above, II II. 13  
 See note to "bear and ragged staff,"  
 Part II v. i. 203.

14 *And made . . . security*] Marlowe  
 has this line in *The Massacre at Paris*  
 (Dyce, 238, a) —

"But he doth lurk within his drowsy  
 couch,  
 And makes his footstool on  
 security"

(first acted January, 1593, Dyce)

18. *scalding*] Not a happy term here,  
 but "parching" had been used up.  
 "Scalding sighs" in *Soliman and Per-  
 seda* is more natural.

- That thou might'st repossess the crown in peace ;  
 And of our labours thou shalt reap the gain 20
- Glou. [Aside.]* I'll blast his harvest, if your head were laid ,  
 For yet I am not look'd on in the world  
 'This shoulder was ordain'd so thick to heave ;  
 And heave it shall some weight, or break my back  
 Work thou the way, and thou shalt execute 25
- K. Edw.* Clarence and Gloucester, love my lovely queen ,  
 And kiss your princely nephew, brothers both.
- Clar.* The duty that I owe unto your majesty  
 I seal upon the lips of this sweet babe.
- Q. Eliz.* Thanks, noble Clarence ; worthy brother, thanks. 30
- Glou.* And, that I love the tree from whence thou sprang'st,  
 Witness the loving kiss I give the fruit  
*[Aside]* To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,  
 And cried "all hail !" when as he meant all harm.
- K. Edw.* Now am I seated as my soul delights, 35  
 Having my country's peace and brothers' loves
- Clar.* What will your grace have done with Margaret ?  
 Reignier, her father, to the King of France  
 Hath pawn'd the Sicils and Jerusalem,  
 And hither have they sent it for her ransom. 40
- K. Edw.* Away with her, and waft her hence to France.  
 And now what rests, but that we spend the time

21-25. I'll . . . if . . . thou shalt execute] 21-25. He . . . and (if Q 3) . . .  
 thou shalt execute (that shalt Fl 1, 2) Q 26-36. Clarence . . . upon the lips  
 . . . tree . . . fruit . . . when as he meant . . . brothers' loves] 26-36. Clarence  
 . . . upon the rosate lips . . . fruit . . . child . . . And so he cride . . . and  
 meant . . . brothers' loves Q. 37-46. What . . . Reignier . . . Sicils . . .  
 triumphs, mirthful . . . pleasure . . . farewell sour . . . lasting joy] 37-46.  
 What . . . Ranard . . . Cyssels . . . triumphs and mirthfull . . . pleasures  
 . . . farewell to sower . . . lasting rose. Exeunt Omnes Fins. Q.

29. upon the lips] "upon the rosate lips," Q "Roseal" was not a rare word, but "roseate" was later except as a painter's colour term "Rosate," "rosett," and "oil-rosat," are all in Holland's *Pliny*. And in Cunningham's *Revels Accounts* (Shakespeare Soc p 117). "Rosett . . . paynters percell" appears in 1577. Nashe calls women's breasts "Roseate buds" (*Christ's Teares* (Grosart, iv 208), 1593)

33. Judas kiss'd] Lest this should cause a charge of irreverence here, it may be mentioned that this was a familiar proverb. Many earlier examples could be quoted, and later

37. have done with Margaret]

"Queene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where she remained till kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers afferme) he borrowed of Kyng Lewes . . . to repaye so great a dutie, he solde to the French King & his heeres, the Kyngdomes of Naples and both the Siciles, with the county of Prouynce. . . After the ransome payed, she was conveyed in to Fraunce with small honor" (Hall, p 301)

40. sent it] Can only mean the money identical in Q. The sum is stated at 50,000 crowns by the French histories.

41. waft] "to carry or send over the

With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows,  
 Such as befits the pleasure of the court ?  
 Sound drums and trumpets! farewell sour annoy !  
 For here, I hope, begins our lasting joy

[*Exeunt.*

sea" (Schmidt) occurs twice in this play, and in the last, but only once elsewhere in Shakespeare, in *King John*

43 *triumphs*] public rejoicings See *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, v. iv. 160, 161. And *Henry VI* v v. 31.

43. *mirthful*] Not again in Shake-

speare. "Mirthful glee" is in Kyd's *Cornelia*, iv ii 193

45, 46 *Sound drums . . joy*] Similarly in *Lochrine*, end of Act II. "Sound drums and trumpets, sound up cheerfully, Sith we return with joy and victory" See the last words of Part II. From these two *Lochrine* derived the example.